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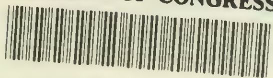
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Newspaper Libels, The National Capital, and Notes of Travel.

THEODORE W. NOYES.

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NEWSPAPER LIBELS.

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NEWSPAPERS ENJOY, THROUGH FAVOR OF THE JURY, EXCESSIVE PRIVILEGES.

SUGGESTED CHANGES IN THE LAW.

In America's first great libel case, the prosecution of John Peter Zenger in 1735, Andrew Hamilton propounded a riddle. He wished to be informed in concise terms what is a libel. The attorney-general replied with nearly five hundred words of definition. The riddle, unanswered before, remained and still remains unanswered, though the sphinx's question could hardly have elicited a longer and more varied list of replies.

The causes of this failure are not a mystery. In the first place the term libel included at common law a whole catalogue of distinct offences, differing among themselves both in kind and degree "as murder does from robbing a hen-roost." Blackstone speaks of "blasphemous, immoral, treasonable, schismatical, seditious or scandalous libels." Attacks upon God, religion, morality, government and individual reputation, whether committed by writing, picture, statue, sign or gesture, were huddled together under one head.

Libel, in the modern sense, is less comprehensive. The incongruous constituents of the former definition, held together only by a name, have fallen apart. Many of the ancient libels, if punished at all, would now be punished as

[This Article is the Columbian University Law School First Prize Graduating Essay of 1882, with Notes of the more important Judicial Decisions since that date.]

blasphemy, obscenity, sedition or as contempts of court or of the legislative body. These offences are popularly viewed as distinct from libel, and have been treated separately to some extent by American statutes. In its simplified form libel seems to represent no more than certain injuries to the reputations of individuals, of which the vast majority at the present day are committed through the medium of printed articles in newspapers.

But the former comprehensiveness of the term is not the only cause of the failures to define libel with precision. Even in its limited signification the word represents both a civil injury and a criminal offence, with different grounds of action according to most authorities in the two cases ; and the attempt to cover both kinds of libel by the same definition breeds confusion. The extent to which it has been specified what constitutes an injury to reputation, or what amounts to defamation, is, however, the point of widest variation among the definers. Perhaps the least unsatisfactory answer to the request to limit, with scientific accuracy, the signification of a general term like libel, is to give up the riddle at the outset, following the example of Lord Lyndhurst, who reported to the House of Lords, in 1843, that all the definitions were either so vague as not to specify or define anything, or they were only rendered particular and definite by omitting some species of libel which ought to have been comprehended.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A NEWSPAPER LIBEL.

In the absence of precise definition, newspaper libels may be described, merely to furnish a suggestive text for the convenient consideration of the subject, as *such printed defamatory matter, published without legal justification or excuse, as a jury pronounces to be deserving of punishment.* To qualify "defamatory matter" by the word false is not necessary, since the truth, when it may be given in evidence, falls under the head of "legal justification." Nor is it practically

important to say "*malicious* defamatory matter"; for except to show the absence of certain legal excuses, actual malice need not be proved, and malicious means no more than wilful.

WHAT IS "PRINTED DEFAMATORY MATTER?"

What is the printed "defamatory matter" which, in the absence of a legal justification or excuse, places its publisher at the mercy of a jury? Jeremy Bentham is represented as saying, in view of the difficulty of limiting the scope of this term: "A libel is *anything* published upon *any* matter, of *anybody*, which *anyone* is pleased to dislike." Several classes of charges may, however, be enumerated as defamatory and libellous.

Comprehensiveness of Term Illustrated (1) by an Attempted Classification of Defamatory Libellous Charges.

Imagine the personal satirist, who would be severe yet escape legal responsibility, confronted by a list of prohibited imputations and expressions like the following! *First*, accusations which furnish ground for an action of slander without proof of special damage, to wit, the charge of an indictable offence involving moral turpitude, the charge of having an infectious disease, and any charge which tends to injure one in his profession, trade or other business. *Second*, imputations or allusions holding one up to contempt, hatred, scorn or ridicule. *Third*, any accusation whatever, direct or indirect, which "sounds to the disreputation of another"*. *Fourth*, in addition to charges of such a character that the court can legally presume that the plaintiff has been "degraded in the estimation of his acquaintances, or of the public, or has suffered some other loss either in his property, character or business, or in his domestic or social relations, in consequence of the publica-

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* Holt's, Hale's and Twisden's rule. See Button v. Heyward, 8 Mod., 24. Quoted approvingly in several modern cases.

tion," which fall under the three preceding heads, *all other charges*, if there be any, will sustain actions of libel on proof of special damage*. But most of the authorities say that it is unnecessary except in aggravation of damages, to prove special damage in any case of libel upon a person†. *Fifth*, blasphemous, obscene and seditious publications, so far as they are still viewed as libels; charges blackening the reputation of the dead, and imputations upon classes of persons.

The first three classes are actionable and indictable‡, the fourth actionable only, the fifth indictable only.

Comprehensiveness of Term Further Illustrated (2) by Discriminating Between the Latitude Allowed the Libeller and the Slanderer.

The newspaper libeller, publishing *printed* defamatory matter, has not the latitude of the slanderer. Sir Benjamin Backbite, with the poison of asps under his lips, may with impunity " kill a character at every word," provided he exercises a little ingenuity in his choice of terms. A multitude of hard names, applied verbally, can be justified by the old English decisions; and though in some states modern rulings have exploded many of the absurd distinctions formerly taken between spoken and written or printed accusations, enough of them have been retained everywhere to protect the prudent slanderer. You may not say that a man is a thief, but it has been held that you may speak of him as a " thievish rogue," for " thievish " denotes, merely, inclination. Or, you may safely say that he " hooked " your property§, and that he is a rascal, villain, liar, scoundrel, swindler and cheat‖. You may not whisper to the community that a man is a perjurer, but there are numerous

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* Townshend on Slander and Libel, 246; quoting from Cooper v. Stone, 2 Denio, 299.

† Folkard's Starkie on Slander and Libel (Wood's notes), 105; Odgers on Libel and Slander (Bigelow's notes), 2.

‡ See discussion under note § (page 5).

§ Hays v. Mitchell, 7 Blackf. (Ind.), 117.

‖ Lucas v. Flinn (1872), 35 Iowa, 9; Kimmis v. Stiles (1871), 44 Vt., 351; Ford v. Johnson (1857), 21 Ga., 399; Weierbach v. Trone (1841), 2 Watts & S. (Pa.), 408; Idol v. Jones (1829), 2 Dev. (N. C.), 162, and cases therein cited.

cases, ancient and modern, which will hold you safe in saying that he has "sworn falsely," or has "sworn to a lie." It is not prudent to speak of the object of your dislike as a murderer, but you may insinuate that he was "the cause of the death" of another, because a man *might* innocently cause another's death by accident*; and if you live in Vermont, or are willing to go to that state for the purpose, you may refer to your enemy as a man "who snaked his mother out of doors by the hair of her head. It was the day before she died"†. By the proper inflections of voice and facial expression these imputations may be made quite as effective as the prohibited charges, and so the entire list of accusations forbidden the slanderer may be safely insinuated, provided, you select epithets which will not necessarily injure a man in his business. It is, of course, understood, in all these cases, that you will do your backbiting in such a way that, however much you may actually injure your enemy, no special pecuniary loss can be traced directly to your utterances. With these precautions, which can be readily taken, you may safely gratify your resentment, as far as the penalties of law are concerned. And there is no fairer field for the exercise of your ingenuity than the District of Columbia, where the common law on this subject is in full force, where the old decisions are quoted to furnish guidance‡, and where it is not actionable in itself to charge a woman, in the most insulting words, with unchastity‡. It thus appears that almost any imputation can be conveyed, orally, in a non-actionable form. Theoretically, the newspaper libeller has no such privilege. The expressions permitted the slanderer become, when printed and published, both actionable and indictable§.

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* For a recent case under this head see McFaden v. David, decided by the Supreme Court of Indiana, Feb. 3, 1882, American Law Magazine, March, 1882.

† Billings v. Wing (1835), 7 Vt., 439.

‡ Pollard v. Lyon (1875), 91 U. S., 225.

§ Mr. Wharton, in his work on criminal law, says: "If a man write or print and publish of another that he is a scoundrel or villain, it is a libel and punishable as such: although in such cases a civil suit might not be without special damage." But the cases do not seem to sustain the suggested distinction. Of those cited by Mr. Wharton all except one are clearly and strongly against him. In that one, Tappan v. Wilson

Comprehensiveness of Term Further Illustrated (3) by Quoting Certain Expressions Pronounced Libellous.

The comprehensiveness of the term, "printed defamatory matter," may also be illustrated by a consideration of some specific charges or allusions held to be libellous. In this country it has been pronounced actionable to suggest of one, ironically, that he is insane*, to impute falsehood†, to publish a ridiculing obituary notice of a living person‡, or to print that the plaintiff will not sue in a certain county "because he is known there"§. English courts have held it libellous to impute ingratitude even by reference to the fable of the "Frozen Snake"‖; to pronounce an attorney, ironically, "an honest lawyer"¶, to charge that a newspaper has a "usury and quack-doctor page"**, or a small circulation††; to call an editor a libellous journalist‡‡, or to

(1835), 7 Ham. (O.), 190, it was held that terms of general abuse are not libellous, but no distinction was made between actionable and indictable libels, and the soundness of the decision, so far as it went, has been questioned. (Townshend, 254, note.) In Tilson v. Robbins (1878), 68 Me., 295, it is suggested that there are indictable libels which are not actionable without proof of special damage, but the context shows that the allusion is to such libels as those upon the dead, etc., which are grouped under class five in this essay. The court, in this case, discussed the distinctions between printed and spoken defamation, at length, and cited most of the cases which show the extensive range of actionable printed defamation. The old leading case under this head is Villars v. Monsley (1769), 2 Wils., 403, which says: "A libel is punishable both criminally and by action, when speaking the words would not be punishable in either way; for speaking the words rogue and rascal of anyone an action will not lie; but if those words were written and published of any one I doubt not an action could lie." In Williams v. Carnes, 4 Humph. (Tenn.), 9, to write, "I look upon him as a rascal" was held actionable. See also Mayrant v. Richardson, 1 Nott & McCord (S. C.), 347; Tryon v. Evening News Association (1878), 39 Mich., 636; White v. Nicholls (1844), 3 How. (U. S.), 226, and cases cited therein. In the last-mentioned case the Supreme Court says: "Actions may be maintained for defamatory words published in writing or print which would not have been actionable if spoken." And in Pollard v. Lyon, 91 U. S., 225, they say: "Written slander is punishable in certain cases, both criminally and by action, where the mere speaking of the words would not be punishable either way." Other authorities sustaining the text, on strength of these and numerous additional cases, are Townshend (245 and 246, and note on 68); Starkie (25, 230 to 236, and Wood's notes on these pages); Shortt (Law of Works of Literature and Art, 412 and 413), and Addison on Torts (3d edition), 766.

* Southwick v. Stevens (1813), 10 Johns. (N. Y.), 443.

† Lindley v. Horton (1858), 27 Conn., 58.

‡ McBride v. Ellis (1856), 9 Rich. (S. C.), 313.

§ Cooper v. Greeley (1845), 1 Denio (N. Y.), 347.

‖ Hoare v. Silverlock, 12 Q. B. (Ad. & El.), 624.

¶ Boydell v. Jones, 4 M. & W., 446.

** Russell *et al* v. Webster (1874), 23 W. R., 59.

†† Heriot v. Stuart, 1 Esp. Cas., 437.

Wakley v. Cooke *et al*, 4 Exch., 511.

publish a ridiculous story told by a man concerning himself*. The law in the District is far from restricting the scope of the term by any local peculiarities. The definitions by the judges follow closely the old forms†. In a certain District case a publication intended as a joke on one person, but which by way of introduction imputed to another that he had suspected a lady of taking goods from his store and had followed her, and which spoke of the lady as being "grossly insulted," was pronounced a libel upon number two, and on the first trial of the suit damages to the amount of $3,000 were given‡.

Comprehensiveness of Term Further Illustrated (4) by Considering Expressions Pronounced Non-actionable.

A partial consideration of the few expressions which have been pronounced non-actionable may be of interest, not only as aiding to define what is defamatory matter, but also as showing the unlimited extent to which the law of libel has been thought by some lawyers and clients to extend. The courts have felt themselves able to say that it is not libellous to publish that the "Mississippi bard foameth"§, that an allopathic physician consulted with homœopathists||, that one pleaded the statute of limitations¶, there being no imputation of dishonesty, that the plaintiff has sued his mother-in-law in the county court**; or to charge an intention to put money into Wall street for shaving purposes, "shaving" being held to mean merely the discounting of securities††, or the unauthorized publication of an unobjectionable private letter‡‡. In Tappan v. Wilson (1835), 7

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* Cook v. Ward (1830), 6 Bing., 409.

† See Judge MacArthur's definition in a civil case, Washington *Star*, Feb. 22, 1872; Judge Carter in a civil case, *Star*, Nov. 29, 1872; Judge Cox in a criminal case, *Star*, Feb. 23, 1882.

‡ Prince v. Evening Star Co. See *Star*, Feb., 1872. On new trial verdict for defendant.

§ Kinyon v. Palmer (1865), 18 Iowa, 377.

|| Clay v. Roberts (1863), 8 L. T., 397.

¶ Bennett v. Williamson, 4 Sandf. (N. Y.), 60.

** Cox v. Cooper (1863), 9 L. T., 329.

†† Stone v. Cooper, 2 Denio (N. Y.), 293.

‡‡ Bacon v. Beach (1847), 5 N. Y. Legal Observer, 448; Townshend (249) cites this case incorrectly, as establishing that such publication is *actionable*.

Ham. (O.), 190, it was held that mere general abuse, not imputing any crime or immorality, or holding one up to ridicule, or producing actual damage, is not libellous. And to charge one with being "a purse-proud aristocrat," with gratifying a propensity to misrepresentation, etc., was pronounced not actionable, as not calculated *seriously* to degrade the plaintiff. This case is in opposition to the tendency of other decisions, and Mr. Townshend, the author of the leading American work on libel, says that it cannot be considered as authority*. In Geisler v. Brown (1877), 6 Neb., 254, it was held not actionable *per se* to publish of a woman in a newspaper that she is "an inhuman stepmother—she beats her child over the head with a club." Mr. Bigelow, the American editor of "Odgers on Libel," pronounces this a shocking doctrine†. It appears, then, that the soundness of the only decisions from which the prospective libeller can derive much comfort has been strongly questioned. [In 1887 it was pronounced not libellous in Illinois to print that a lawyer was a "crank," that word not having been sufficiently long in use to have a distinct defamatory significance, without an allegation or innuendo as to the sense in which it was used. Walker v. Chicago Tribune, 29 Federal Reporter, 827. Use of the epithet in print would probably not now be safe.]

Comprehensiveness of Term Further Illustrated (5) by Reference to Indirect Charges and Allusions Forbidden.

Not only is the libeller denied the use of expressions defamatory on their face in which the slanderer may indulge, but he is also forbidden the latter's privilege of insinuating what he may not say. The cases show that responsibility is not lessened by putting the libel in figurative or allegorical language, or by suggesting it in the form of a question, or by stating ironically the opposite of what is intended, or by using only the initials of a name, or hieroglyphics, if the

* Townshend, 254, note.

† Odgers, 25, note.

application to the person intended can be perceived. Liability is not removed by the fact that the libellous statement was received from another, and that upon publication the author's name was disclosed*. "It is reported," "it is said," "they say," "alleged," or other expressions indicating that the libel is but the reiteration of a current rumor, do not protect†. So crediting to another paper is of no avail except in mitigation of damages‡, and even when a newspaper added "Fudge!" to a quoted libellous paragraph, responsibility was not removed, but it was left to the jury to determine with what motive the word was inserted§. Thus is newspaper ingenuity discouraged.

WHAT IS "LEGAL JUSTIFICATION OR EXCUSE"?

It seems that disparaging utterances, almost without exception, are defamatory, libellous, actionable, and presumably punishable. The question now arises, what defamatory matter may one publish and escape punishment on the ground of legal justification or excuse?

(1) The Truth of the Charge.

The truth of the libellous charge is now a complete defence against a civil suit, and an element of defence against a criminal prosecution. At common law the rule was otherwise as to criminal libels, but statutes making the truth a defence in such cases, when published with good motives and for justifiable ends, are now, perhaps, universal. Even the District of Columbia boasts such a statute, passed in 1865, while the common law rules concerning libel are in

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* Dole v. Lyon, 10 John. (N. Y.), 446; Buckley v. Knapp, 48 Mo., 152.

† Johnston v. Lance, 7 Ired. (N. C.), 448; Skinner v. Powers, 1 Wend. (N. Y.), 451; Johnson v. St. Louis Dispatch Co., 65 Mo., 541.

‡ Sans v. Jaerris, 14 Wis., 663; Hotchkins v. Oliphant, 2 Hill N.)Y.), 510.

§ English case. Hunt v. Algar, 6 C. and P., 245. Decided in 1833. The fact that libellous story is accompanied by statement of disbelief in its truth is no defence; Com. v. Chambers, 15 Philadelphia reports, 415.

force in all other respects. The advisability of this change is no longer a subject of discussion, and those who wish to make further amendment of the law of libel, but are somewhat appalled by the testimony of learned writers as to the excellence of existing regulations, may derive encouragement from the fact that the highest encomiums were formerly lavished by great lawyers upon a rule now universally condemned. Each generation proclaims that it is rid of the absurd laws of the past, and flatters itself that there is little room for improvement in its own regulations. Holt, in his time, commented upon the *former* harshness and uncertainty of the law of libel in the same spirit which led Cockburn, at a later day, to suggest that only recent years have seen the law develop into anything like a satisfactory and settled form.

In civil cases the truth *alone* is a defence, no matter how much spite the writer may have betrayed, or how severe an injury he may have inflicted. If one enjoys an undeserved reputation, he can obtain no compensation for the loss of it. Practically, however, this privilege is not a reliable protection to the malicious libeller. His feelings are almost certain to carry him beyond the truth in some particular assertion or insinuation ; and to be privileged, the charge must be *strictly* true. The justification must be as broad as the charge and of the very accusation attempted to be justified. A person who has stolen only *one* hog cannot be accused of stealing " hogs "*. It has been held sufficient, however, to justify so much of the defamation as constitutes the sting of the charge. Not every epithet or term of general abuse need be verified, and the privilege will not be lost by reason of a slight inaccuracy, if the matter is *substantially* proved†. The restrictions upon this defence, which apply in both civil and criminal cases, make the plea a dangerous one to rely upon. If the publication cannot be justified, the ex-

* Swan v. Rary (1833), 3 Blackf., 298.

† Gwynn v. South Eastern Railway Co., 18 Law Times, N. S., 738. Decided in 1868. See also Odgers, 157 (foot paging) ; Townshend, 338 ; Starkie, 528.

tent to which it is true, or an honest belief in its truth, may be shown, in mitigation of damages in a suit, as rebutting the presumption of malice*.

(2) Conditionally Privileged Publications.

There are other imputations which may be printed with impunity, because the public welfare demands their publication. They are said to be conditionally privileged, and are protected, on the ground of legal excuse, in the absence of malice on the part of the publisher. The newspapers of to-day may print fair reports of the proceedings of legislative bodies with impunity, even though they contain matter defamatory of individuals. It was only after a long struggle that the privilege was gained in England. Samuel Johnson was by no means the last reporter who was compelled to prepare elaborate accounts of imaginary parliamentary proceedings in the seclusion of a garret. The subject is said to have been first directly presented for adjudication in 1867†. The same privilege is granted in respect to judicial proceedings. The report, if abridged, must be fair and accurate, presenting the evidence upon which defamatory speeches of counsel are based. Comments upon the report are not privileged under this head. Care must, therefore, be taken in preparing headings for accounts of judicial proceedings, as the former may be libellous though the latter are not. As a rule, if the heading states accurately the charge made in the report, it is protected. But a slight variation or exaggeration may cause the privilege to be lost. For instance, in Bishop v. Latimer (1861), 4 Law Times N. S., 775, the heading " How lawyer B. treats his clients," was held actionable, the report showing lawyer B.'s treatment of only one of his clients. By analogy, reports of proceedings before a committee of a legislative body, acting to some extent as a public court, are protected. The

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* Huson v. Dale, 19 Mich., 17, decided in 1869, and other cases cited in Odgers, 176, note. (For a discussion of the subject of malice in its bearing upon libel, see Scripps v. Reilly, 35 Mich., 371 (1877), and 38 Mich., 10 (1878).)

† Wason v. Walter, 4 Q. B., 73.

privilege is also now extended to proceedings publicly conducted before a magistrate, whether the accused permits them to be *ex-parte* or makes his defence*. But the publication of *ex-parte* affidavits made to secure the arrest of a person†, of the report of a grand jury‡, or of the scaffold speech of a murderer§ [or a petition for the disbarment of an attorney filed in the office of the clerk of court (Cowley v. Pulsifer, 137 Mass., 392), or a declaration or complaint filed in court on the commencement of a suit (Rowe v. *Detroit Free Press*, Washington Law Reporter, Oct. 31, 1885)], is not privileged ; nor are reports of proceedings at public meetings‖, before grand juries¶, or, perhaps, at coroner's inquests**.

Defamation is sometimes privileged, because the charge is made in good faith in the performance of some official or social duty, but the courts, it is said, have not recognized a duty on the part of newspapers to publish defamatory matter, even though the subject be one in respect to which the public is interested††. So a privilege arises where a defendant has an interest in the subject-matter, and the person to whom the communication is made has a corresponding interest. A newspaper can, however, rarely profit by this rule, since, if the communication be made to others than those interested, it generally loses its privilege, and this result is almost inevitable in the event of publication in a widely-circulated newspaper‡‡. In a few cases such communication to persons not interested has been held not not to take away the privilege§§.

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* McBee v. Fulton, 47 Md., 403 (1877). The point is thoroughly considered, and the earlier decisions in Stanley v. Webb (1850), 4 Sandf. (N. Y.), 121, and Matthews v. Beach (1851), 5 Sandf. (N. Y.), 256, are disregarded.

† Cincinnati Gazette Co. v. Timberlake (1860), 10 Ohio, N. S., 548 ; Stanley v. Webb 4 Sandf. (N. Y.), 127. But see McBee v. Fulton *ante*, and Stacy v. Portland Pub. Co., 68 Maine, 279.

‡ Rector v. Smith, 11 Iowa, 302.

§ Sandford v. Bennett (1861), 24 N. Y., 20.

‖ Lewis v. Few, 5 Johns., 1 ; Davison v. Duncan, 7 El. & B., 231 (English case). See, also, Townshend 381 and Odgers 259. But see Briggs v. Garrett, 111 Pa. St. Rep. (1886), 404.

¶ McCabe v. Caldwell (1865), 18 Abb. Pra. R. (N. Y.), 377.

** Storey v. Wallace, 60 Ill., 51.

†† Foster v. Scripps, 39 Mich., 376, and 41 Mich., 742. Other cases under note fifty-four.

‡‡ Hunt v. Bennett, 19 N. Y., 173.

§§ Hatch v. Lane, 105 Mass., 394 ; warning against payment of bill to an ex-employee. Shurtleff v. Stevens, 51 Vt., 501.

Bona-fide Criticism.

Comments or criticisms upon matters of public interest are, perhaps, more properly viewed, not as privileged publications or excusable libels, but as defamation which is not libellous, since their true character may be shown to the the jury under the plea that there is no libel*. They are conditionally privileged, however, to the extent that proof of actual malice makes the circumstances of their publication unavailable in any shape for the defendant's protection. And if it be stated that juries may and do consider the excuse of criticism, and, in deciding what defamation is deserving of punishment, are often influenced by this plea to exhibit unusual leniency towards newspapers, there will be, perhaps, no objection to a discussion of the subject under this head, where for some reasons it will be more conveniently treated. Newspapers may comment upon the administration of general or local government in any of its branches, upon the conduct of public men, upon books, paintings, public entertainments, and upon any acts or products of a person to which public attention is invited by him. According to Mr. Townshend, *actions* or *things* may be criticised, but individuals may not be disparaged except so far as fair criticism upon their acts or productions may indirectly affect them.

Comment upon Authors, Painters and Actors.

None of the cases seem to oppose this view so far as books, paintings or other articles submitted to the public for inspection are concerned†. Criticism of this indirect kind is not, however, confined within narrow limits. There is an element of retribution in the severity of comment permitted the press, in respect to dramatic and literary productions. The first English newspaper was ridiculed by Ben Jonson, and the early papers fared badly at the hands of Fletcher,

* Odgers, 33 and 116.

† Gott v. Pulsifer (1877), 122 Mass., 235 (Cardiff Giant case); Cooper v. Stone, 24 Wend. (N. Y.), 434; Reede v. Sweetzer, 6 Abb. Pr. (N. Y.), 9. English case of Strauss v. Francis, 4 F. & F., 1108, and recent case of Whistler v. Ruskin.

Shirley and other playwrights. Samuel Johnson and other literary potentates had their satiric say about the newspaper writer. Now the tables are turned.

Comment upon Public Officers and Candidates.

Mr. Townshend, in discriminating between attacks upon things and upon persons, holds in accordance with his theory, that the private character of public men is no more the subject of criticism than that of others, and that the *acts* of private individuals are as properly the subject of criticism as those of public men. Many cases, however, discriminate between the *acts* of public and private persons, and a few recognize a distinction between attacks upon the moral character of officers and candidates, and similar assaults directed against other persons. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, who gave considerable latitude to the press, held that the integrity, honesty and honor of a public man, which are indispensable to his fitness to occupy the position which he holds, may be the subject of hostile criticism, and as newspapers are not supposed to be infallible, slight errors, particularly in political discussions, are excusable*. Erle, C. J., in Turnbull v. Ward, 2 F. & F., 508, declared in substance that this privilege would be lost if misstatements of fact were made through malice or lack of ordinary care. In Mott v. Dawson, 46 Iowa, 533, it is held that words spoken of a candidate in good faith, believing them to be true and having reasonable cause to so believe, are privileged though they impute dishonesty. In Palmer v. City of Concord, 48 N. H., 211, it is held that a newspaper may, in good faith, on reasonable grounds, affirm a mal-administration of office. [See to same effect Marks v. Baker, 28 Minn., 162, and Copeland v. Express Printing Co. (1883) 64 Tex., 354; Miner v. Detroit Post, 49 Mich., 358; Briggs v. Garrett, 111 Pa. St. Reports (1886), 404.] But cases like the foregoing are few in number, and the great mass of Ameri-

* Campbell v. Spottiswoode, 3 F & F., 421 (1863); Seymour v. Butterworth (1862), 2 F. & F., 372, and, especially, Hunter v. Sharp (1866), 4 F. & F., 983.

can decisions protect the *moral* character of public officers and candidates, in theory, as effectually as the reputations of other individuals; and no privilege whatever is held to arise in respect to such assaults*.

Comment upon Editors and Newspapers.

The same rule extends even to editors, and theoretically, they too are defended by the law from calumny. There are English cases which maintain that, while a *newspaper* may be criticised as slangy, scurrilous or vulgar, the private character of writers may not be attacked; and, even of a newspaper, you may not say that it has a small circulation, for you touch the proprietor in the line of his business. [Where two parties engage in a newspaper controversy and hurl abusive epithets at each other, neither should receive damages from the other. Bigney v. Benthuysen, 36 La. Ann. Rep. (1884), 38. See also McCarty v. Pugh, 40 Ga. (1869) 444.] As a matter of fact, editors, when defamed, are popularly supposed to be able to take care of themselves without the aid of the law, and juries are not apt to view strictures upon them as punishable libels. The latitude allowed, practically, in the criticism of candidates, officers and rival editors. finds explanation only in a consideration of the part played by the jury.

NEWSPAPERS ENJOY NO PECULIAR LEGAL PRIVILEGES.

The justifications and excuses which have been discussed are not the exclusive privilege of newspapers. In theory, their proprietors are on precisely the same footing as other individuals in respect to rights and liabilities under the

* The subject of attacks upon officers and candidates is thoroughly discussed in two recent cases, Hamilton v. Eno (1880), 81 N. Y., 116, and Sweeney v. Baker (1878), 13 W. Va., 158. Other interesting cases are Littlejohn v. Greeley (1861), 13 Abb. Pr. (N. Y.), 41; Aldrich v. *Press* Printing Co. (1864), 9 Minn., 133; Com. v. Clap (1808), 4 Mass., 163; Curtis v. Mussey (1856), 6 Gray (Mass.), 261. [See also Rearick v. Wilson, 81 Ill., 77; Bronson v. Bruce, 59 Mich. (1886), 467; Wheaton v. Beecher, 33 N. W. Reporter (1887), 503; Farrow v. Negley (1882), 60 Md , 177; Tennecsse v. Nashville Banner (1885), 16 Lea, 176.]

libel laws*. A strict enforcement of the law would make the position of a newspaper owner a most unenviable one.

Extensive Responsibility of Newspaper Proprietor.

His responsibility is very extensive. He is liable, civilly, for everything that is published in his columns, even though a libel appears in his absence, without his knowledge or against his express prohibition†. Criminally, his responsibility is somewhat less, by statute in England and according to a few cases in this country‡. But even against a prosecution, lack of knowledge is no defence unless circumstances forbid the presumption that his ignorance indicates a criminal neglect to exercise proper care and supervision over his subordinates‡. He is liable, though the defamation is in the shape of an advertisement§. He may become a libeller through a mistake of the printer; as where the latter published the name of a certain firm under the heading "First meetings under the Bankruptcy Act," instead of under "Dissolutions of Partnership." Ample apology in the next issue, though no malice or special damage was proved, did not prevent award of damages||. While his responsibility for what appears in his paper is so extensive, he is at the same time driven by public expectation and demand not merely to expose himself to suit by pointing out evils that threaten the community, but to print daily a great mass of matter under circumstances of haste and excitement which render inadvertent libels, at some time or another, almost unavoidable. Yet the law gives to him no greater privileges than to private individuals.

* See cases under note * (page 15); also Sheckell v. Jackson, 10 Cush. (Mass.), 25; Snyder v. Fulton (1871), 34 Md., 128.

† Dunn v. Hall (1849), 1 Ind., 344; Huff v. Bennett (1850), 4 Sandf. (N. Y.), 120. On the general subject of newspaper liability see Com. v. Morgan (1871), 107 Mass., 199; Storey v. Wallace (1871), 60 Ill., 51; Detroit Post Co. v. McArthur (1868), 16 Mich., 447; Scripps v. Reilly (1878), 38 Mich., 10; Smith v. Ashley (1846), 11 Met. (Mass.), 367, and cases under note * (page 15).

‡ Com. v. Morgan (1871), 107 Mass., 199. See 136 Mass., 441.

§ English case. Harrison v. Pearce, 1 F. & F., 567.

|| English case, Shepheard v. Whitaker (1875), L. R. 10 C. P., 502.

Newspaper Proprietor Receives Additional Protection in Fact, Though not by Theory of Law.

Practically, however, he receives additional protection. Mr. Shortt, in his "Law of Works of Literature and Art," says: "The newspaper writer stands in this respect in no different position from any other member of the community, save so far as a *jury* may be inclined to deal more leniently with defamatory matter contained in his publications." In the same direction, Mr. Odgers, the latest English writer on the subject of libel, remarks: "Newspaper writers, though in strict law they stand in no better position than any other person, are generally allowed greater latitude by *juries*."

THE PART PLAYED BY THE JURY.

These quotations suggest the important part which juries, or other representatives of public opinion, have always played in respect to the subject under consideration, and lead us to the third test of newspaper libel, namely, that it must be pronounced deserving of punishment by a jury. On the one hand, defamatory expressions seem to cover everything. On the other hand, there is the effort to make the privilege of newspapers equally comprehensive. In the resulting uncertainty the jury, as an umpire, comes prominently to the front. It has power to decide the question of libel or no libel, not only in criminal proceedings, but also in civil cases, after a definition of libel in law by the court, according to the English rule, which prevails in some of the states; and everywhere it has this privilege, when the words are ambiguous, or there is evidence tending to change their natural meaning*. For these reasons juries have been judicially pronounced "the true guardians of the liberty of the press"†. The powers thus given have been exercised.

* See cases cited in American editor's note, Odgers, 88 (foot paging).

† R. v. Sullivan, 11 Cox C. C., 52.

2

Variation Between Public Opinion and the Letter of the Law.

The letter of the law has always received, in application, important modifications springing from the habits and feelings of the community. Theoretically, the safeguards against libel are ample even to oppressiveness. But the press is not restrained. It is known to all that there are in every large city newspaper presses from which issue, daily, streams of libellous matter; and there is hardly any newspaper, however reputable its character, which does not frequently publish items that are actionable and indictable in the eye of the law. Yet indictments are rare and not much is recovered in actions for damages.

Effect in the Past of the Variation Between Public Sentiment and the Law.

The variation between public feeling as to the offence and the law on the subject, which to-day prevents hundreds of actions from being brought, and which causes juries to permit many who are, technically, libellers to go unpunished, has always existed; and in earlier times and other lands it made the defamer's punishment uncertain, and robbed the severe penalties threatened by law of many of their terrors. England may be selected as a single example. The law of Alfred, which punished slanderers by cutting out the tongue unless redeemed by the price of the offender's head, was an appropriate introduction to the penalties by which, when writing came to prevail generally, it was attempted to suppress libels. Bacon says, in his history of Henry VII: "Swarms and volleys of libels sprang forth containing bitter invectives against the king; for which five common people suffered death." There are other instances in English history where libels construed to be seditious have brought capital punishment upon their authors. The list of penalties for criminal libel included fine and imprisonment, exposure in the pillory to be pelted with rotten eggs and offal, whipping, branding, loss of ears, and burning of the libellous

matter by the hangman. The truth was no defence, and frequently what the law declared to be an infamous crime public opinion pronounced not merely innocent but praiseworthy, and the pilloried libeller was viewed as a martyr, not as a criminal. As the regulation of the Decemviri, which threatened Roman defamers with the death penalty, was gradually nullified by popular sentiment, as often as revived by later tyrants, and libellers flourished though the sword was suspended over them, so were the severe English laws made ineffective as a means of restraint by a public disapprobation which rendered their enforcement uncertain. And libellers, encouraged by the sentiment of the community, showed so little fear of the law as to furnish a foundation for Warburton's venomous remark that "scribblers have not the common sense of other vermin, who usually abstain from mischief when they see any of their kind gibbeted or nailed up as terrible examples." Public opinion did not, however, always avail to save offenders against whom partisan hatred was aroused. The laws then became instruments of oppression, and a few individuals were made to suffer the severest penalties for violating rules which their fellows were permitted to disregard with impunity. Some of the instances of this discrimination are historical. Prynne suffered long imprisonment and heavy fines, was degraded from the bar, was twice pilloried, was deprived of both ears, and was branded on both cheeks. De Foe, in addition to fine and imprisonment on two occasions, was also exposed in the pillory. Wrennum, for libelling Lord Bacon in a book presented to the king, was sentenced to pay a fine of £1,000, to be twice pilloried, to lose both ears, and to be perpetually imprisoned. Yet these and the other unfortunates were only a few out of thousands of defamers. Not the obscure alone, but the great men of the times, were bitter libellers; for the English-speaking peoples are satirical and dearly love to hold up their adversaries to contempt and ridicule. The lives of Prynne and De Foe cover, in point of

time, the period in which in succession Milton, Dryden, Pope and Swift lived and wrote. Most of the *punished* libels were mere pleasantries compared with the virulent attacks upon their enemies by these authors. The coarse epithets employed by Milton in his political controversies; Dryden's cutting satires, directed not only against public men but against the private character of individuals, as in the case of the poet Shadwell; Pope's spiteful and venomous epigrams, with a hornet-sting in every other word, and Swift's malignant calumnies, are libels of the most aggravated type. Compositions which consigned some men to the pillory, to the dungeon, and to personal mutilation, gave to others literary fame.

Analogous Effect in Modern Times of Variation Between Public Sentiment and the Law.

The condition of affairs to-day is analogous. There is a similar uncertainty of punishment in conformity with the strict letter of the law, raised by a public opinion, which encourages the writer without always protecting him; for juries cannot be relied upon in every case to give voice to popular sentiment. Penalties have moderated, but the impression of the importance of the freedom of the press, and the idea of what constitutes that freedom, have enlarged in even greater proportion. The public, in determining whether a libel should be punished, is likely to be moved towards mercy, even to the straining of the law by two influences: (1) the feeling that the laws as they exist are too severe in the extensive scope of their application and in the penalties which they permit to be imposed in prosecutions for trivial libels; (2) a vague idea that the press should be as free as possible, based, perhaps, upon the reflection that libel laws were formerly used as means of tyranny, and that the newspapers in obtaining for themselves a partial liberty have advanced the cause of individual freedom.

SUGGESTED CHANGES IN THE LAW OF LIBEL.

The elements of a libel have now been considered, and the existing law on the subject, both in its theory and its practical workings, has been incidentally discussed. Numerous suggestions of amendment have been made, and a few of the proposed changes may appropriately be examined.

The purpose of libel laws is to protect individual reputation and preserve public tranquility with the least restraint upon the right of free discussion. On the one side is the individual—his private life, perhaps, invaded, his feelings outraged—defended by laws too severe and not enforced. On the other side is the press—long persecuted, now partially shielded as an exposer of public evils by popular sentiment.

CHANGES FOR THE BETTER PROTECTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

The vast circulation of newspapers gives them a power to affect individual reputation by evil report in comparison with which other agencies of distribution are insignificant. Those who deserve denunciation fear nothing else so much as the exposure of their rascalities by the press; and the keenness of suffering and the extent of injury inflicted are all the greater when the innocent are the victims. For "who can see worse days than he that, yet living, doth follow in the funeral of his own reputation?"*

Necessity of Additional Protection for the Individual.

What can the libelled person do? It is no longer popular to obtain satisfaction by a duel. Pistols are sometimes relied upon, however, as in the Kalloch case in San Francisco, and the Soteldo affair in this city. But the murder of the editor

* Bacon's charge against Lumsden.

is hardly considered, as yet, to be a safe and satisfactory method of redress. Horse-whipping has been discouraged, not so much by the law of assaults, as by the invention of "fighting editors." Pummelling with fists, after the McGarrahan-Piatt model, is held vulgar. It is generally vain to answer back. "Witty calumnies and licentious raillery are airy nothings that float about us, invulnerable from their nature like those chimeras of hell which the sword of Æneas could not pierce." Men laugh at a spicy attack and yawn over an indignant, sympathy-seeking reply. Moreover, talking back is apt to involve the libelled in a war of words with the editor, in which the latter has the advantage of position and the last whisper in the ear of the public. Nor do his legal remedies seem to protect him. Thousands of unpunished libels appear every year. A consideration of the liberal views sometimes held by juries, an apprehension of the advertisement of all one's misdoings and shortcomings which a libel suit involves, and a dread of the resentment of the offending paper, restrain many movements for redress. For newspapers under slight provocation are apt to play the bully, and however a suit or prosecution may result, to crush the libelled in the end under an avalanche of calumnies. Prosecutions are not frequent. Public sentiment is not disposed to consider libels generally as misdemeanors to be punished with the severity which the precedents justify. Yet in many cases the injury to the libelled cannot be represented in dollars and cents; and a judgment of damages is inadequate as a punishment against the very wealthy and ineffective against the penniless. The most scurrilous newspapers are not the respectable and thriving sheets which can satisfy judgments against them, but a lower class, which having little or no property or reputation to forfeit, view a civil action merely as a good advertisement. In this condition of affairs, how is the individual to be protected?

(1) Strictly Enforce Laws Prescribing Moderate Penalties for False and Actually Malicious Libel.

If false and actually malicious defamation should be discriminated from other forms of disparagement, and be universally viewed as a misdemeanor to be punished with certainty by a fine or imprisonment sufficiently moderate to be enforced, an improvement might be effected. While prosecutions are permitted for every trivial libel, and while juries are uncertain as to what amount of punishment through the whim or prejudice of a judge a verdict of guilty may inflict, indictments will, perhaps, be as rare and as unsuccessful as a means of restraint as at present. If the objection of severe penalties indiscriminately applicable to offences, some deserving and others not deserving such punishment, be obivated, there will be ground to hope that in respect to the former class the law may be enforced.

(2) Draw a Line Between Public and Private Persons.

For further protection of the individual a distinction should be steadily maintained between libels upon public and private persons. The former are now popularly looked upon as exposing their reputations to fire as soldiers endanger their bodies in battle. But the private citizen does not announce himself a target for libellous shafts, and statute law in France, making a discrimination, expressly forbids the recital of his weaknesses unless they come to light in a judicial proceeding. As we have seen, most of the American decisions draw no line between public and private persons in respect to assaults upon moral character. But in practice the former are *not* defended, and the law for their protection is not strictly enforced. It is better to discriminate judicially, rather than, by confusing the two classes, to permit the license allowed practically in respect to one to extend gradually to the other.

(3) Minor Suggestions.

Numbers of minor suggestions have been offered with a view to facilitate the remedy of the libelled, as for instance that such cases be given priority in point of time over most other classes, in order to remove the objection that, ordinarily, the trial comes too late to be a complete and satisfactory vindication of character.

CHANGES FOR THE BETTER PROTECTION OF THE PRESS.

It may seem inconsistent to urge that newspapers, too, need protection after what has been said of the unhappy lot of the individual. But if practice under the law too often bears harshly upon the latter, the law itself is rigorous in respect to the former, and papers frequently suffer annoyance and damage from its strict enforcement. Recent indictments are numbered by dozens, not by hundreds, but the list is sufficiently long to fill every newspaper with a sense of insecurity, for while the law is in its present shape not one may be said to be safe. Heavy fines and imprisonment were recently imposed in certain New Jersey prosecutions.

Necessity of Additional Protection for the Press.

It is vain to appeal to experience as proving that the press is protected in spite of the law, when such outrages may be perpetrated as that inflicted by the notorious Jim Fisk, Jr. upon Samuel Bowles of the Springfield *Republican*, who, while visiting New York, was whisked off to Ludlow street jail and locked up over night on a charge of criminal libel. In respect to civil suits, the condition of affairs is also unsatisfactory. Not a vast amount of money has been *recovered* from newspapers within the last ten years; but, in 1873, investigation disclosed that 756 libel suits were pending in which $47,500,000 in damages were claimed. Many of these suits never came to trial, and many were never in-

tended to be tried, the announcement of them being presented to the public as the substitute for a denial of the charge where circumstances made a direct contradiction unsafe or unadvisable. In other cases—though, perhaps, the cause of action was trivial and no damages were recovered in the end—the suits, being pressed, brought annoyance and expense to the newspapers; for the law on its face is harsh, juries are uncertain, compromises to escape the worry of litigation are not unknown, and there are speculative lawyers to be tempted and to tempt. London is not the only great city of which it may be said :

> "Their ambush here relentless ruffians lay,
> And here the fell attorney prowls for prey."

As already suggested, the amount, if any, paid as damages is by no means the only expense, and not always the heaviest item of outlay, involved in a libel suit. The London *Times*, in 1840, after its exposure of a colossal swindling conspiracy on the continent, was compelled to expend nearly $25,000 in obtaining the testimony from different parts of Europe necessary to its defence*. Extraordinary damages, too, are sometimes given, through a whim of the jury, under circumstances which seem to forbid a verdict for the plaintiff.

(1) Strictly Enforce Laws Prescribing Moderate Penalties for False and Actually Malicious Libel.

The same changes which will benefit the public by providing certain penalties for the most injurious libels, will also cause the press to be no longer exposed to the danger of unjust punishment for trivial or unintentional disparagements. With the subject-matter of criminal libel less comprehensive, and with moderate penalties reasonably certain to be enforced, both individual and newspaper will find suitable protection.

* "The Newspaper Press," James Grant, vol. 2. p. 15.

(2) Make Certain Corrections and Retractions Good Defences.

Among the restraints upon newspapers suggested has been that of compulsory correction or retraction of misstatements. The editor is to be compelled to "eat his words," figuratively, after the example set by the Russians, who are described as compelling a libeller to make a meal, literally, of the objectionable publication*. There is, however, a popular impression that a correction is insufficient and unsatisfactory as a vindication. This idea finds expression in the conceit of a lie travelling around the world with the correction a day behind, never catching up. It is also thought that a compulsory retraction means no more than that the editor would rather unsay what he has said than be sued. While there may be considerations which prevent even a prompt and full withdrawal of a charge or statement from being a perfect antidote to the original evil, it should be viewed nevertheless, on grounds of public policy, as removing all cause of action, unless the libel has been published through gross negligence and works special damage†. Unintentional mistakes are inevitable as long as papers attempt to satisfy the public demand in respect to the amount, variety and freshness of what they publish daily. The victim of one of these blunders should be satisfied by a correction and apology, which will repair his reputation more than a dozen suits. [Minnesota has a law, passed in 1887, which provides that punitive damages shall not be recoverable against the publishers of a libel where it appears at the trial that the article was published in good faith, and that a fair retraction was promptly published, at least three days before election in the case of a public candidate.]

(3) Minor Suggestions.

[The discouragement of speculative blackmailing suits, and suits instituted as a safe and cheap substitute for a

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* "History of Journalism," Frederic Hudson, page 750.

† The Wisconsin legislature passed a statute to this effect. Perhaps a few other state legislatures have taken a similar course. Such statutes have been recently proposed in Missouri and Illinois.

denial of the charge, and never intended to be brought to trial, is sought in the requirement that the plaintiff give ample security for costs in all actions for libel. California has such a statute. It is a needed restraint upon the black-mailing, shyster lawyers who prey upon well-to-do and peace-loving newspapers in the same manner that black-mailing editors extort a disreputable livelihood from the rest of the community. It has also been recommended as a discouragement to speculative libel suits that actual damages only be recoverable by a plaintiff, and that punitive damages be made payable to the state.

The justice and propriety of distinguishing between actual and presumed malice have already been pointed out. The National Editorial Association in 1887 recommended the passage of a bill by the several States providing that "where alleged libellous publications are made, malice shall not be presumed unless a retraction or apology is refused to be made, or unless circumstances surrounding the publication and the refusal to retract or apologize conclusively prove malice." Connecticut and some other States have statutes which limit recovery to such actual damage as is specially alleged and proved unless malice in fact is proved or there is failure to retract on request.]

A select committee of the English house of commons recommended in July, 1880, that reports of public meetings should, under certain conditions, be privileged [in 1881 a law to this effect was enacted by Parliament, 44 & 45 Vict. C. 60]; and also with a view to discourage prosecutions for trivial causes, that no criminal proceedings against newspaper men should be allowed until the fiat of the attorney-general had been obtained. Space permits only the mere mention of these suggestions.

TO WHAT EXTENT SHOULD THE PRESS BE RESTRAINED.

Public opinion in respect to the latitude which should be granted by law to the press has varied greatly. At a time

when the privilege of printing one's thoughts was obtained, in theory, only by favor of ecclesiastical or secular rulers, who claimed the control of the press as one of their prerogatives, Milton, in his Areopagitica, written against a system which is said to have nearly caused the suppression of Paradise Lost, because of a supposed political allusion, argued that the liberty of the press consists in printing without any previous license, subject to the consequences of law. The oppression which caused mere relief from censorship to be viewed as freedom was not confined to the old world.

Harsh Treatment in Early Days.

The first American newspaper, "Publick Occurrences" (1690), was suppressed as unlicensed at a tender age. But by Milton's definition the press would be free though the slightest libellous publication were punished by the torture or execution of the editor. Censorship would be a happier fate. The captive rat would doubtless prefer the safety of confinement in a cage to liberty with certain exposure to the teeth of the expectant terrier. Authors might well consider themselves less harshly treated, if restricted in their right to print to those publications which the censor pronounces to be free from danger to the community and to themselves, than if told to publish what they please with the prospect of losing liberty, or a hand, or the nose, or the ears, for an incautious word. There is no freedom unless one may print to a certain extent with *impunity*. The persecution on slight pretexts of early American editors, with some of whom imprisonment became a matter of routine, taught the new world this truth. Zenger lay in jail nine months before his trial and acquittal, and his paper meanwhile was burned by the common hangman. Severe punishments for trivial offences were inflicted by the Republic, also, under the alien and sedition laws*. A broader view of the liberty of the press was formulated in 1804, when it was said by Alexander Hamilton to consist "in the right to

* Hudson, 160 and 215.

publish with impunity truth with good motives for justifiable ends." In this second stage of public opinion it came to be recognized that precisely the same principle is involved in the rights of free thought, free speech and free printing, and that similiar privileges and responsibilities should attach to the disclosure of one's ideas whatever method of communication is adopted.

Modern Tendencies Toward Liberal Treatment of the Press.

With the growth of the modern newspaper, public opinion has shown a tendency to still greater liberality. It is a duty imposed upon newspapers by custom and public expectation to record the events of each day, to comment freely upon them in the interests of the community, to expose corruption and oppression, to scrutinize and, if necessary, to criticise the acts of public servants and the workings of public institutions; to act, in short, as censors as well as recorders. In the honest discharge of these functions it is held that newspapers should be defended, by confining the import of libellous defamation within narrower limits, or by relaxing the rigorous restrictions which hamper the plea of truth, or by enlarging the bounds of privileged publications, or by extending the borders of non-libellous criticism ; and this protection should be given, even though it involves the grant of greater latitude to the press in printing than is permitted to individuals in speaking. The benefit to the community arising from the fearless performance of the duties of this new public office is thought to outweigh the evil of occasional inadvertent injuries to the reputation of citizens. In some straggling cases these claims for newspapers seem to have been recognized to a certain extent*. But, undoubtedly, the courts, restrained by precedents, have not in

* See Turnbull v. Ward, 2 F. & F., 508 ; Cockburn's decisions, note * (page 11); Pattison v. Singerly, Philadelphia papers, April, 1881. Judge Dobbin's charge in the lower court, which was overruled by the Supreme Court of Maryland, in Snyder v. Fulton, 34 Md., 128, represents the popular opinion which the courts, generally, are restrained by precedents from adopting.

any considerable number adopted the more liberal views, whatever advances may have been made in public opinion and whatever liberties may have been taken by juries in particular cases. A fourth view of newspaper privileges not countenanced by the law, but acted upon by some journalists, may be formulated in the words of John Phoenix, who held that, as temporary editor of the San Diego *Herald*, he had " the liberty of saying anything he pleased about anybody without considering himself at all responsible." It seems reasonable to anticipate that there will be, either by statute or by successive judicial rulings, a gradual modification of antiquated law which fails to protect the individual, and which annoys, without restraining, the newspapers of the land. But the changes, desired and desirable, do not involve the adoption of the Phoenix notion of the freedom of the press.

Too Great a License may be Claimed and Exercised by the Press.

The entire absence of restraint would tend to nullify the influence of newspapers both for good and evil. Hallam says that " for almost all that keeps up in us permanently and effectually the spirit of regard to liberty and the public good, we must look to the unshackled and independent energies of the press." If this high anticipation be disappointed, if the press abuse its powers, grossly and universally, either to gratify personal malice, or to feed with a daily allowance of defamation a depraved public appetite which it has itself created, an inglorious end awaits it. Indiscriminate libel supplies its own antidote. The public becomes hardened, as did the Athenians under the constant lashing of the licensed comedy. Men lose all feeling of shame, and with no delicate sense of honor become impervious to insult. They grow indifferent to attacks upon themselves and attach no weight to assaults upon others. Where all are defamed, reproof loses its salutary effect. The press excites little resentment by its criticisms because

it is despised. It comes to occupy, at best. the position towards a rich, thick-skinned public of the medieval fool or jester, who could say what scandalous and injurious things he pleased solely because he *was* a fool, and the weight of a man's words was not attached to his utterances.

Venality as Affecting Libel Legislation.

Another danger to be avoided by the press is that of destroying its influence by a venality inconsistent with the theory upon which alone it is entitled to peculiar privileges at law. It sells space to advertisers as a business transaction, but in its capacity as recorder of and commenter upon the news of the day its opinions should not be the subject of bargain and sale. Partial exemption from the law of libel, as applied to individuals, can be granted it only in proportion as it maintains its position as a public officer engaged by the people, and subject to scorn and contempt if it permits itself to be led from its duty by a bribe. Its influence, too, depends upon the public belief that its opinions are given with the interests of the community in view, and not the pecuniary advantage of some schemer who has purchased its favor. In a recent California case* the court is reported to have decided that "it is no more libellous to accuse one of selling for gain the support and advocacy of his newspaper, than it would be to accuse the merchant of selling for gain his merchandise." The newspaper against which the charge in this instance was brought estimated the damage which it suffered from the accusation at $30,000; but dollars and cents cannot represent the irreparable injury to the character and influence of the press which would result if this decision should be accepted and acted upon by all newspapers, and the public should note the fact. It is an insult to the press to class its opinions as merchandise; and the opinion of the California judge will be applauded only when both press and public have reached the lowest stage of degradation.

* Fitch v. De Young. [This decision was properly reversed by the Supreme Court of California in 1885. See 66 Cal., 339.]

Newspapers should so conduct themselves that, in the process of framing the libel laws and judicial rulings of the future, they may be viewed—not as the universal enemies of government, religion, and individual reputation to be persecuted as of old; not as scurrilous jesters to be left unpunished because despised; not as base hirelings to be treated only with the consideration shown to mercenary and deliberate libellers—but as advocates solely of the interests of the community so far as the expression of opinions is concerned, deserving to be protected in that public capacity.

European Hints

CONCERNING MATTERS WHEREIN UNCLE SAM DOES NOT BEAT THE WORLD.

BERLIN'S ELEVATED RAILWAY.

Lessons for Washington—No Grade Crossings—Model Railroad Terminals and Rapid Transit Facilities—Old World Railroads Protect Life Better and Build Finer Stations.

From the Washington Evening Star, January 9, 1892.

The Washingtonian in Berlin, noting municipal features that commend themselves for adoption in his own city, is struck by the cleanness both of the broad streets and of the obscure byways, testifying to the excellence of the street-cleaning and garbage systems. He is attracted by the absence of overhead wires and towering poles, and by the admirable railroad terminal and local rapid transit facilities. Valuable suggestions in all these matters may be derived by developing Washington in its struggle for healthful cleanliness, the burial of disfiguring wires and adequate railroad terminals. The lesson taught on the last point I found especially novel and instructive.

Like London and Paris, Berlin has a "ring" railroad, circling the city and furnishing both local rapid transit and city terminals and a connecting link to the great trunk lines.

THE FINEST ELEVATED ROAD IN THE WORLD.

It has also, which they have not, a road which follows, though with many deviations from a straight line, the diameter of the suburban ring. This road traverses the very

heart of the city. At intervals along it are magnificent stations, constructed with all the modern improved devices, including that of absolute separation of incoming and outgoing traffic, from which issue trains for St. Petersburg or Paris, as well as the local rapid transit trains. This city road or "Stadtbahn" connects with the ring-road ("Ringbahn") at Stralau-Rummelsburgh on the east and Westend on the west. It is the most celebrated elevated railway in Europe. It is 8.8 miles long, and its four tracks, two for distant travel and two for local business, are carried on an arched viaduct of masonry, and on iron bridges with massive masonry abutments in crossing the streets. It has in all sixty-six bridges over streets and water courses.

Its general elevation is about twenty feet above that of the street. It is about fifty feet broad. It is primarily intended to relieve the street traffic, but five stations, structures of impressive size and most admirable arrangement, are also used for general traffic. The Friedrichstrasse station has an immense vaulted hall 230 feet wide and 492 feet long. The main line, with its 8.8 miles, has ten stations. The North Ring is 12.56 miles long, with twelve stations. The South Ring is 16.30 miles long, with nine stations. The local rates of fare are very cheap, the purpose being to encourage the building of suburban residences. Local trains now run about every three minutes. The speed of trains between stations must not exceed twenty-eight miles an hour, and the run is made at an average speed of about sixteen miles an hour, including the frequent stops, "probably as fast," says Mr. Osborne Howes of the Boston rapid transit commission, who has recently made an admirable report on the subject, "as any similar service in the world." In no part of the system, of course, is there a street crossed at grade, nor is there any railway track crossed except at a different elevation.

SOME ATTRACTIVE FEATURES OF THE STADTBAHN.

In examining the Stadtbahn in the vicinity of several of the largest stations I was much impressed with the man-

ner in which the objectionable features of rapid transit lines and railroad terminals were minimized or avoided altogether. The road was built on private property, except for a short distance on the river bed, at a great expense in condemnation of land. No street is, consequently, occupied and obstructed. Streets are crossed by arch bridges where their use is possible; in other cases the bridges are supported by neat iron columns between the sidewalk and the street. The structure throughout is solid, and has no disagreeable vibration. It is absolutely watertight, and is so constructed with rails and rail-carriers bedded in gravel that the passage of trains is practically noiseless. There are no droppings from above upon the heads of those who pass under it. The masonry viaduct presents the appearance of a series of brick arches sustaining the road-bed. The space underneath is utilized in this part of the city for various purposes, according to location. Here an attractive store or restaurant is seen; here a stable, carriage house or store house. The road is built in this thickly-settled section so that it occupies the street edge of the blocks, and the buildings constructed under it open upon a street on one side or the other. The viaduct here looks like a row of occupied brick houses with flat roofs and arched fronts, embellished by stone trimmings, cornices and recessing of the masonry, and the effect is not at all displeasing. Lewis M. Haupt, in an article on rapid transit in the December *Cosmopolitan*, says: "The serious objections to rapid surface travel and the unsightly appearance of the iron superstructures in vogue have led to various propositions for the construction of masonry arcades which shall eliminate these defects. Among the completed lines of this class may be mentioned the grand arcades in Paris and Berlin. These, however, are not used exclusively for local traffic, but also to connect lines of railways with each other." It is only upon certain portions of the Stadtbahn, however, that this space under the tracks is thus utilized. Mr. Osborne Howes, in the report to which I have referred, says that if the road were to be rebuilt arrangements would be made to

utilize all this space, since it has been found that, when open arches have been left that can be utilized for store purposes, the space can be rented, particularly near the stattons, to exceedingly good advantage.

A German publication concerning the Stadtbahn, translated and reprinted in the *Engineering Record*, says of these arches: "The vaults of the viaduct are rented at a price that compares well with the rental of the finest locations in Berlin. They are especially desirable for wine cellars and restaurants, which are fitted up with the greatest luxury."

FREIGHT HANDLED ON BERLIN'S ELEVATED ROADS.

The Berlin terminal system also settles satisfactorily the problem of the handling of freight, though additional facilities in this direction are needed and are now being provided. These elevated roads are not merely passenger roads. On this point Mr. Howes says:

"Freight trains are not allowed upon the main line during the day. On the South and North Rings they are permitted, as in this way alone they reach a number of the freight stations. At the present time work is going on which, when completed, in four or five years more, will give to both North and South Rings a complete double-track freight service, entirely distinct from the passenger lines.

"The main line serves to supply the Central Market of Berlin. Cars filled with food supplies, other than live animals, arriving during the day, are kept on side tracks on the Ring lines until midnight, when, with such other provision cars as may have arrived during the evening, they are brought to the side tracks of the market near the center of the city. Here they are immediately unloaded and their contents let down on large hydraulic elevators to the main floor of the market, which is on a level with the surface of the ground. The supplies thus received and delivered aggregate from 120 to 160 car-loads each night. The side-tracks of the market will not accommodate more than forty freight cars at a time, hence when unloaded they are imme-

diately taken away to make room for others. When a few years ago this market method was introduced to take the place of the general sale of produce from carts it aroused great opposition, which has now, however, wholly died out, from the discovery that by the new method the prices of food supplies have been sensibly reduced. The market is owned and stalls leased by the city, but the management of the market traffic, until the produce comes within the walls of the market, rests in the hands of the state officials.

"The same system obtains in the management of the Berlin slaughter houses, which are located on the North Ring, and at which as many as 49,000 head of animals of all kinds have been landed in a day (the average daily supply is 30,000). Here, too, the service of delivery is largely performed at night, though when the special freight tracks are completed this will not be in the least necessary."

POINTERS FOR THE CAPITAL.

The Berlin system commends itself to Washington, in that it provides noiseless rapid transit and permits passenger stations in the heart of the city and ample freight facilities, without a single death-trap grade crossing, with no obstruction of the streets and no real disfigurement of the surface of the city. And Berlin's experience suggests improvements upon its system in a somewhat greater height of the structure, a more extensive use of the space under the tracks and the provision of a distinct set of freight tracks. The same end is reached of course by tunneling as in London, where terminals and local rapid transit have been secured by burrowing expensively underground. But travel on the London Metropolitan and District roads is a suffocating experience to an American. Washington could tunnel to better advantage than London, where a considerable portion of the line is built in land reclaimed from the Thames, and the tracks are, at certain stages of the tide, below the water level of the river, compelling the operation of five pumping stations to establish thorough drainage. But where circumstances

do not forbid the elevated structure the route in the air and light will be approved by most Americans. The New York elevated roads—tracks elevated on stilts, obstructing streets, disfiguring the city and serving only for local rapid transit —are not the alternative from the London tunnels or the choice would be extremely difficult. The New York rapid transit commission have, to be sure, selected a tunnel plan for the greater part of that city, but they preferred, as they explicitly state in their report, the above-ground system, and decided against it in part only when, in the light of conditions which do not yet exist in Washington, they found the elevated structure impracticable in the down-town section of New York, with its heavy population, costly improvements and tremendous land values. Where the conditions permit them in other parts of the city, as, for instance, in the two miles east of Madison avenue, they propose to use a masonry viaduct resembling Berlin's Stadtbahn.

WHAT L'ENFANT WOULD HAVE DONE.

If the founders of Washington, who with prophetic foresight, planned and marked out in the last century the framework of the magnificent capital of the next century could now, in the light of the requirements of modern cities, repeat their task, they would provide ample space in the city's plan for a great central railroad station, and would set aside rights of way for lines radiating to the principal points of the compass from this station. These lines, which would be both long-distance railroad terminals and local rapid transit roads, building up the suburbs and relieving city congestion, would in their course through the city run, I think, over masonry viaducts of the Berlin plan, with all the space under the tracks except at the bridges over streets utilized and ornamented, and with distinct tracks for long-distance travel, short-distance travel and freight service. The station, though in the heart of the city, would have nothing in its approaches to threaten life and limb, to reduce the value of property or to obstruct street traffic and

travel. It would be like the Cannon street and other great stations in London, the impressive railroad structures of Paris, the Friedrich Strasse and Alexander Platz stations on the Stadtbahn in Berlin, or the wonderful structure at Frankfort-on-the-Main. In contemplating these buildings the Washingtonian feels profoundly ashamed when he thinks of the local stations at home. The foreign cities teach us a lesson both as to the avoidance of grade crossings and as to the construction and arrangement of stations.

WHEREIN WE DO NOT BEAT THE WORLD.

The American in Europe, while finding less complete provision for comfort in long-distance railroad travel than in America, frequently inadequate toilet facilities, less expensive upholstery and less display of hard woods and glass in the cars and a system of compartments arrangement which insures privacy at the expense of an unsociable confinement often irksome, also notes the most elaborate and painstaking precautions for the safety both of the traveller and of the people of the country traversed by the road and an astonishing superiority in the appearance and arrangement of the stations. Our roads devote too much attention to fine rolling stock, too little to road-bed and devices for the safety of passengers and hardly any except what the law compels to the safety of the non-travelling public. Mr. Samuel Rea, an engineer connected with the Pennsylvania railroad, in a work on "The railways terminating in London," printed by the *Engineering News*, in noting the points of European superiority, says: "Railways and highways are not allowed to cross on the same level in cities, nor elsewhere if much travelled. Some of these excellent features are gradually being adopted by our more advanced companies, notably the block signal system and the avoidance of grade crossings in the cities and important towns of our states. In the matter of city terminal stations, which are a conspicuous part of every railway, English roads are unsurpassed and far in advance of our railroads."

In looking down for the first time from St. Paul's one foggy morning upon the notable buildings of London, the structures which first caught my eye and about which I first inquired turned out to be some of London's immense railroad stations, lofty buildings of pleasing and imposing architecture, containing huge modern hotels of the first-class.

The Cannon street, Charing Cross and St. Pancras stations may be specially mentioned. They are referred to by Samuel Rea as fit types of modern city terminal stations. The first mentioned station stands back from Cannon street some ninety feet, leaving a broad area in front of the building for an entrance to the underground railway station, a cab stand and a sitting-down platform. This forecourt is partially inclosed with a heavy balustrade, and a fine approach at the west side leads up to the hotel and station. The depth through the ticket offices is about ninety feet and the train hall is over 650 feet in length. The Charing Cross station much resembles it. St. Pancras is a huge structure, with an imposing facade, flanked at the eastern corner with a high clock tower. The head house—a large and imposing building—is connected with the railroad's hotel. The station hall has roof trusses of 243 feet span and is 690 feet in length. Some of the stations in Paris are equally impressive. In Berlin and other German cities extensive improvements have been made and large sums of money recently expended by the railroad management to bring the city terminal stations up to an ideal standard.

The station at Frankfort-on-the-Main now claims to be the finest in the world. The *Engineering Record* pronounces the station " a model structure of its kind combining enormous size with a thoroughly well worked out plan to meet the demands of great traffic." The station hall proper, not including the passenger waiting rooms, is about 551 feet wide and 600 feet long. Its total cost was about $8,250,000.

APPLICATION OF EUROPEAN HINTS TO WASHINGTON.

The idea of a central union station in Washington, approached by masonry viaduct or tunnel lines from the different points of the compass, cannot now perhaps be realized. The two roads intrenched here have agreed that they do not want a union station, and apparently Congress will not force them into unwilling partnership. Assuming that they are to be treated independently there is still the need and opportunity of applying European teachings to the improvement of terminal facilities, both for the passenger and freight service, the betterment of stations and the removal of grade crossings.

The present terminal conditions are injurious and disgraceful to the capital of the American Republic. The stations compared with similar structures in Europe are inadequate in size, awkwardly arranged and ugly. However liberal and progressive the roads serving Washington may be in other localities, here they have been short-sighted and stingy. For freight purposes instead of purchasing ample ground when they could secure it cheaply they have preferred to do this business still less expensively, though illegally, on the public streets and reservations, and now they are pitifully cramped. The rush of delayed freight business after a Knights Templar conclave causes a blockade that paralyzes the business community. A like blockade is threatened this winter in handling the naturally growing business without any occurrence like the conclave to furnish an excuse. Unless a radical change in conditions is effected it is difficult to calculate when Washington will recover from the blockade that must follow the Grand Army encampment next September. The situation in regard to grade crossings is equally discreditable. Both roads sustain a series of death traps at which losses of life and injuries to limb periodically occur, and each one of these crossings is a direct business injury and inconvenience and cause of financial loss to the city through the obstruction to traffic and

travel which occurs at them. At a single one of the Pennsylvania railroad's crossings last year the delay incident to the lowering and raising of the gates was experienced by the public 116 times within the daylight hours of a single day, and nearly 8,000 pedestrians and considerably over 2,000 vehicles passed and were exposed to the chance of danger and these delays. Though the use of this part of the road for shifting cars or making up trains is illegal, shifting engines engaged in this illegal work obstructed this crossing fifty-one times on the same day. The Baltimore and Ohio surface tracks isolate East Washington and throttle its prosperity. The Pennsylvania railroad tracks perform a similar service for south Washington and the river front.

WHAT ONE ROAD WILL DO.

The Baltimore and Ohio has shown recent indications of an appreciation of the discreditable condition of its terminals, and of a disposition to make them better.

It is understood that this road proposes to spend soon a large sum of money in terminal improvements if Congress will approve its plans. It proposed to the last Congress to unite its two lines outside of the city and to bring them down Delaware avenue to its present station site, which it proposed to enlarge so as to form within it a track loop. If this were permitted it promised to build a handsome station and to erect bridges on North Capitol street, Massachusetts avenue, H street and Boundary. The *Star* commented upon this plan at the time and criticised some features of it, suggesting a different station site and the removal of other grade crossings in the city. Whether the new station and loop are constructed as citizens desire north of Massachusetts avenue and east of North Capitol street, or as the railroad desires, on the present site, the approaches through the city should not be on grade, and the masonry viaduct plan suggests itself. In Berlin the railroad paid many millions for private property upon which to construct its overhead road. The roads here should pay for their right of way.

But since it is obviously impossible to expect that Congress would put our roads to this expense, and since they now take full possession of the streets which they occupy, it may be justifiable to permit them to erect their masonry viaducts on these streets, the property of the United States, and even to partly reimburse themselves for the expense of the improvement by renting the arcade space beneath their tracks for stores and other purposes. A Berlin viaduct down Delaware avenue would not obstruct in the least transit between West and East Washington, would constitute no increased disfigurement, would be really a business improvement in the increase of trading facilities, and, utilizing no more than half of this broad avenue, could be made so wide as to accommodate ample long-distance, short-distance and freight tracks, improving in some respects upon the Berlin suggestion. The disposition of the road to buy ground to enlarge its freight facilities ought to be encouraged in every conceivable manner. The acquisition of freight facilities along the Potomac in Georgetown reduces somewhat the need of extensive freight accommodations about its main passenger station near the Capitol, and renders comparatively easy the plan of elevated approaches to this station.

WHAT ANOTHER ROAD MAY DO.

The Pennsylvania railroad intimated when it secured from the last Congress certain privileges that it would make this year notable improvements in its terminals. Senator McMillan referred to these half-promises. He said to a *Star* reporter that he would go ahead at this session with a measure for relief from grade crossings from 6th street to the Long Bridge and improvement of the 6th street conditions. "I will prepare a bill," he said, "which will have for its object the amelioration of existing conditions, and I know that the railroad company will do everything in its power to aid me in making the bill a law."

Senator McMillan, as chairmain of the District commit-

tee, may be depended upon to make good his own promises and to promptly undertake the task of causing the road to fulfil its obligations. Maryland and Virginia avenues are broad and, if the railroad continues to insist that the tunnel plan west of 6th street is impracticable notwithstanding the evidence of Engineer Commissioners Twining and Ludlow and Engineer Douglass of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, it might be required or persuaded to elevate its tracks upon a viaduct of the Berlin type. This treatment of the tracks would bring them to the north end of the present Long Bridge in proper relation to the masonry viaduct approaches across the reclaimed flats, proposed by Col. Hains, and to the new elevated long bridge which is to be. Indeed, an important part of the Pennsylvania's terminal improvement must be the destruction of that great dam, stretching a causeway and a low structure supported by numerous obstructing piers across the Potomac; a decaying, dangerous nuisance as a bridge, and a dam blocking the commercial prosperity of Georgetown and threatening every spring to turn a destructive flood in upon Pennsylvania avenue and lower Washington.

If Congress insists upon retaining the 6th street station and the disfigurement of the mall, the tracks might be removed from 6th street, opening that thoroughfare, and run, as proposed, on the edge of the mall next to the street, but on an embankment viaduct like the Berlin road in the suburbs, sodded and ornamented in every tasteful way with arched openings at intervals to permit passage under it. It is a pity that Representative Springer's Champs Elysees, running through the series of parks between the Capitol and the White House or Monument, should be brought into proximity to railroad tracks at any point or in any way, but this avenue, or the more graceful and suitable curving driveway into which it might be modified, would clearly be more attractive if it retained its level grade and passed through an ornamented arch under a comparatively noise-

less viaduct instead of climbing over the tracks and engines by a bridge.

The purchase of ample freight yards, especially in the section near where the railroad issues from the Navy Yard tunnel and south of its main line, into which it can run surface tracks, ought to be encouraged and promoted. The streets and reservations have served long enough as shifting stations and freight yards.

When the Baltimore and Ohio gets the imposing and admirably arranged station for which it is planning, with ample room acquired by purchase for the performance of the functions of a great modern railroad, the Pennsylvania will doubtless be stirred by pride and competitive self-interest as well as by the absolute necessities of its steadily growing traffic to enlarge and improve its terminal facilities, including its station.

This main Washington station of a great railroad system, at which some 2,000,000 of people arrive and depart every year, cannot be anything but inadequate and antiquated as long as it can be legally approached on 6th street by only two tracks, " to be put as near together in the middle of the street as possible " and showing " flat rails like those used by street railways so as to facilitate wagon and carriage travel over the same." Whatever the railroad has on 6th street more than these two sets of flat rails, easily crossed by carriages, is illegal. These assurances of a minimum of inconvenience to the public are made in the letter of the law and are consequently more binding than the suggestion of Senator Simon Cameron that the 6th street tracks would be withdrawn when the mall came to be needed as a park, and Senator Frelinghuysen's assurance that no engine would ever run across the mall to frighten horses as apprehended by a brother Senator. Mr. Frelinghuysen's suggestion was that the trains would run along 6th street and into the station engineless from a momentum acquired on Virginia avenue, but he expressed no opinion as to the manner in which the train was to get out of the station and back to

Virginia avenue again. The theories and arrangements all pointed to a temporary makeshift, with a small business in view, and all the conditions are unsuited for the leading passenger station of the capital of the republic in the year 1892. The Pennsylvania road, in order to keep up with the times and with local business competition, must, where-ever its main station is located, get more ground in connection with it. It must avoid the necessity of backing out of its station. It must secure the privilege of laying all the tracks that a first-class road in a first-class city requires for its business. And in return for the legislative concessions which will enable it to do these things, and in remembrance of the gift to it of free right-of-way, free station site, and the practically free use of Long Bridge, it ought to take its tracks, except specially designated freight tracks in certain localities, from grade everywhere within the city limits.

COSTLY CHANGES IN OTHER CITIES.

The Pennsylvania railroad has recently been making notable improvements in its Jersey City terminals. It has elevated its passenger tracks to do away with grade-crossings. It has constructed an immense train-shed 652 feet long and 256 wide, with an arched roof of the greatest single-span ever built. The cost of its improvements, including new ferry boat, new bridges, all of its new plant in Jersey City and New York, is estimated at $4,000,000.

This road, both in theory and in practice, has been liberal and progressive outside of Washington.

In other cities its policy is to abolish grade crossings. In a formal letter favoring the grade-crossings bill for Pennsylvania, President Roberts said: "In pursuance of this policy it (the Pa. R. R.) has succeeded in eliminating all such crossings from its main line in the city of Philadelphia and for a distance of nine miles beyond. It is certainly within your recollection that in order to reach the present station at Broad street by an elevated road it expended between four and five millions of dollars and thus secured the removal of all the freight tracks from Market street and the

abandonment of the then existing grade crossings between 15th street and the Schuylkill river. The same policy has been pursued by the company for many years past on its main line in the city of Pittsburg, with the result that all grade crossings of important streets within its limits are now avoided. This policy is being steadily pursued on our lines to New York and Washington also. * * * * It has not even been pretended that the wholesome provisions of law that require the avoidance of grade crossings by steam railroads in such cities as London, Liverpool and Berlin have in any manner interfered with their commercial prosperity, although it is certainly true that they have compelled railroad companies seeking admission to those cities to expend a larger amount of money than they would have done had grade crossings been permitted. But I think that you will agree with me that the public safety is the supreme law in this case, and that if railroads can reach our large cities without sacrificing the lives and limbs of our people it is their duty to do so."

NOW FOR WASHINGTON.

It is time for the application of these principles and this practice, by all the roads centering here, to the capital of the nation. It is time that Congress, the legislature of this capital, secured from our railroads the same consideration in these matters that the municipal councils in other cities demand and obtain. It cannot continue always to be the case that Congress, to whose guardianship the interests of this city are entrusted, will give to our common carriers for the asking whatever they desire, or promptly condone the offence if they have taken without asking, and at the same time turn a deaf ear to the requests of the people for the better protection of life and for the removal of impediments to city expansion and development and to business prosperity.

When the local roads have built here European stations, covering large areas of ground, lofty, imposing and ornamental structures, with fine modern hotels in the upper

stories, as in London, there might well be constructed in connection with one of them the great convention hall which Washington needs. Such a hall would bring increased business especially to the road which would convey outsiders directly to first-class hotel accommodations in the same building with it. The railroad as hall owner would put money into the pockets of the railroad as hotel proprietor, carrier of passengers and promoter of excursions, and *vice versa.*

When both roads have abolished their local grade crossings and run rapid, noiseless trains over a Berlin viaduct in their course through the city, and when both cross the Potomac to southern connections on handsome and substantial bridges, not dams, then Washington will enjoy the same unobjectionable rapid transit facilities for its suburbs that have brought such prosperity and relief from congestion to Berlin. Not only the northeastern and northwestern District, but the Virginia suburbs of Washington, will be connected with the growing and progressive capital by bands of steel. With the Berlin rapid transit facilities these suburbs, whether in the District, Maryland or Virginia, will feel the impulse of Washington's expansion, will flourish as they have never flourished before and will, in their turn, heap blessings and benefits upon the city to which they bring convenient and healthful homes for the moderately well-to-do, summer breathing places for the rich and a remedy for urban overcrowding with its ugly and threatening accompaniments. The railroads as well as the public will profit by this improvement of their service and broadening of their functions. Washington will clasp to itself and absorb its surburban extensions in every direction. The city limits will soon be identical with the boundaries of the District, whether the original dimensions of the ten miles square are restored or the District lines remain as at present, and the capital will stride with quickened steps toward its goal of a million population with all the progress and development and increased attractiveness that must accompany its growth in numbers.

Rapid Transit.

EUROPEAN HINTS CONCERNING PRACTICABILITY OF IMPROVED MOTORS.

PESTH'S ELECTRIC CONDUIT.

Lessons for America—The Overworked Trolley Neither Essential Nor Desirable for Rapid Transit in Large Cities—Washington as a Model Street Railway City.

From the Washington Evening Star, October 22, 1892.

Our national boast is that nothing is impossible to American inventiveness, that what other peoples have failed or neglected to achieve we accomplish speedily and thoroughly. A notable exception to this national self-confidence is found apparently in the great electric companies and many street railway magnates, who declare with one accord in a concert of self-depreciation that no form of electric railway motor but the trolley can be made commercially practicable in America, and that the only substitute for the antiquated car horse that American ingenuity can devise, even for our large cities, is this aggravation of the overhead pole and wire evil. Are we amusing ourselves with a baseless national conceit when we plume ourselves on our superior inventiveness? Or, are those who announce the national incapacity to devise and work an improved and unobjectionable motor, amusing themselves with motives of self-interest at the expense of the public? These questions arose again and again in my mind this summer as I rode in succession over a compressed air railway in Paris, a storage battery railway at The Hague, Holland, and an underground conduit electric railway in Buda-Pesth, Austria-Hungary.

A HINT FROM PARIS.

The compressed air line at Paris—the city which has served as a model for Washington in so many respects—runs through the park of Vincennes to Nogent and Ville Evrard. It is in general a suburban line, but traverses also some narrow and well-traveled streets. It is capable of a high rate of speed and the machine seems to be under absolute control. It is practically noiseless, except that a slight grinding sound is produced as the car wheels pass curves in the road. I know nothing of the profits or losses of this particular line, though it seems to be reasonably popular and well patronized, but a similar railway at Nantes, France, has been operated for ten years and makes reports of its expenses and earnings, which, if reliable, show that the pneumatic is cheaper and more profitable even than the trolley system. The Compagnie Generale des Omnibus of Paris have, it is said, determined to use compressed air as a motive power upon suburban lines between Paris, St. Cloud, Sevres, and Versailles. The same kind of motor is reported to be used upon a railway in Berne, Switzerland. In the French compressed air system each car is supplied with its own motor and there is no conduit like that which characterized the compressed air system that proved a failure on the 7th street road or Brightwood avenue in the suburbs of this city.

THE HAGUE'S SUGGESTION.

The storage battery line at the capital of Holland runs from the heart of the city to Scheveningen, the fashionable and famous seaside summer resort. It is popular and successful during the season against the competition of steam and against the rivalry of a horse railway that follows a cool and shady course through a most beautiful park, while the electric road runs for part of its route through an almost naked plain. The cars are large and heavy, rapid in movement and attractive to the eye. The Hague is not unworthy to furnish a suggestion to Washington, between which and

it a strong resemblance is noted, in that The Hague, for centuries the political capital of the States General, was until the time of Louis Philippe denied the right to vote in the assembly of states; in that, it is and always has been the favorite residence of the ruling and wealthy class; in that its prosperity is due to its political character and its residence attractions and not to internal resources of the town itself, and in that it surpasses all other Dutch towns in broad and handsome streets and spacious parking. The example set by the capital of Holland is to be followed on an extensive scale, the newspapers announce, by the capital of Germany and the capital of France, the united street car lines of Berlin and the Compagnie Generale des Omnibus of Paris having decided to take this step. Storage battery cars are already used to a slight extent in Paris and London. It seems never to occur to these benighted foreigners that in order to keep pace with modern civilization they must deface and endanger their streets with the trolley.

THE EXAMPLE SET BY BUDA-PESTH.

In Buda-Pesth, the enterprising and progressive capital of Hungary, I rode all over the city in the neat and attractive cars that are propelled smoothly, rapidly and at an easily regulated speed by electricity as the motive power. The Buda-Pesth railway is an underground conduit road with an open slotted conduit of concrete, having iron yokes spaced about four feet apart, resembling somewhat the conduit construction of a cable road. The slot, however, is in a split rail, the conduit lying immediately under one of the running rails, and the feed and return current pass through a pair of conductors attached to either side of the iron yokes. The current is supplied at a constant potential of 300 volts, something over one-half as powerful as the trolley current. The rails do not serve as conductors. The conductors are light angle irons attached to cup-shaped insulators and placed about two-thirds of the depth of the conduit from the bottom in order to keep them from moisture, and the con-

duit, which is 27.5 inches deep, is furnished with catch pits to carry off the drainage. The conductors are also entirely protected under the running rails, so that they cannot catch rain or dirt and may not be seen or touched from the slot.

CURRENT LEAKAGE IN RAINY, SNOWY WEATHER

is one of the bugaboos employed to frighten the public from the use of the underground electric conduit. The experience of Buda-Pesth, where the atmospheric conditions are more trying than in Washington, and where the streets are no cleaner and no better drained, shows that practically this leakage is not a serious affair, if simple devices are adopted for reducing it to a minimum. Osborne Howes reported to the Boston rapid transit commission concerning this point that the electric cars of Buda-Pesth experienced no more trouble with snow and ice in the winter of '90-91 than the ordinary horse cars. "There was some delay," he says, "but nothing serious, although last winter was one of exceptional severity in Hungary, and the Danube river was frozen over continuously for more than three months." The nominal rate of speed is eight miles per hour. At night and in some parts of the route eleven miles per hour are permitted. In densely crowded streets 6.2 miles are the limit, while on crossings only 3.72 miles per hour are allowed. There are four of these electric lines in the city, the oldest of which has been in operation for more than three years, with a total length of track of twelve miles, and the larger part of the lines have double tracks. These lines are known as the Station Street line, opened July 30, 1889; the Podmaniczky Street line, opened September 10, 1889; the Grosse-Ringstrasse line, opened March 6, 1890, and the King Street line, opened last year. Other extensions of the system are proposed. The Podmaniczky Street line runs from the academy in the heart of Pesth to the principal railroad station and the extensive public park of the city, the Stadtwaldchen. The Grosse-Ringstrasse line traverses the finest of the great boulevards that Buda-Pesth has of late

years been constructing. It is a broad street, lined for a considerable part of its length with imposing buildings. The King Street line parallels Andrassy street, the show street of the city, to Buda-Pesth what the Ringstrasse is to Vienna, Unter den Linden to Berlin and the boulevards to Paris. During 1891 the number of persons carried on the electric line was nearly double that of 1890 and the receipts were increased proportionately. The reports of the Buda-Pesth horse railroad, the competitor of the electric road, for the same period show for 1891 a slight decrease in the number of passengers carried from the figures of 1890, and the income per mile has also fallen. The horse railway carried less than half as many passengers and received only 62 per cent. as great an income per mile a month. It is pointed out in the *Engineering News* that the Buda-Pesth electric road is remarkably successful among Austrian railways as regards passengers carried and gross income per mile, for even on the almost constantly crowded lines of the Vienna horse railway the number of passengers per mile and the income are only about three-fifths as great. The rapid extension of the system as well as the well-filled cars and the excellent showing of earnings demonstrate

THE POPULARITY AND SUCCESS OF THE ROAD.

Various improvements that can easily be made have suggested themselves as desirable in perfecting the system for American use. The cost of construction can be cheapened, the slot can be made narrower, the contact frame stronger and the pattern of the rails can be improved. But the fact remains that in spite of minor and easily remedied defects this system has proved commercially practicable and a remarkable success upon the leading railway of a city of half a million people, the most enterprising, progressive and rapidly developing capital to-day in all Europe.

These three European railways to which reference has been made demonstrate that the trolley is not essential to practical rapid transit either in suburban or special season

service or in the constant and vast labor of transporting the multitude quickly over the principal streets of a great city.

The Buda-Pesth road is most interesting to a Washingtonian because the conditions more closely resemble those that confront this city. There are some

STRIKING POINTS OF SIMILARITY

between the Hungarian and American capitals. As Washington has acquired its main development and adornment since the war of 1861-65, and owes its prosperity largely to circumstances and sentiments, created or quickened by the war, so Buda-Pesth has grown into greatness since the war of 1866 between Germany and Austria, and its development is based upon conditions which arose from this struggle. A special impetus was given to the growth of both capitals about 1873, the formal consolidation of Buda and Pesth being the motive power in one case and the reign of A. R. Shepherd in the other. Both of these beautiful cities are the embodiment and material manifestation of national sentiment and national pride. The tardy but now vigorous cooperation of the Union with the capital's residents in bringing to perfection the Union's city is a part of current history. So in Buda-Pesth: "The ministry and the municipal authorities co-operated and building operations were intrusted to a mixed commission of the national and city governments." Buda-Pesth, pushed forward by the national pride of 17,000,000 of progressive and ambitious people, has with its half million of population become the Minneapolis of Europe as a milling center, the Chicago of Europe in wonderful push and rapidity of growth, and a new Paris in beauty. Washington's development is not less remarkable, and as it has behind it the national sentiment and national pride of 65,000,000 Americans, causing it to show forth in miniature the great republic, its aspirations are not limited by the mark of Buda-Pesth's present or future achievements, or by those recorded of any of the world's capitals.

OTHER HINTS FROM HUNGARY'S CAPITAL.

Buda-Pesth has a famous promenade along the Danube, suggesting to Washington what it may enjoy when the flats are fully converted into a park, and a sea-wall along the Potomac has been constructed.

Andrassy street, the pride of the Hungarian capital, is a straight street like our avenues and like Unter den Linden in Berlin; but Buda-Pesth has also broad, curving, ring streets in course of development like the Parisian boulevards and the magnificent Viennese Ringstrasse, which we lack. Some day, however, Washington will have a "Ringstrasse" or boulevard traversing the series of parks between the Capitol and Monument and the new-made park on the Potomac, following the line of Rock creek through Rock Creek Park and crossing to and traversing Soldiers' Home. This boulevard in interest and attractiveness of surroundings will compare favorably with any in the world, and will be worthy of the American capital.

Buda-Pesth maintains free public baths in the Danube, a pointed reminder to Washington.

Albert Shaw says, in the *Century*, of the Buda-Pesth street railways: "At the expiration of the existing charters the street railway lines and their equipment will become the property of the city, without indemnity to the private owners." On the other side of the water the public takes a lively interest in franchises which involve the privilege of occupying and using public streets, a grip is retained in the public interest upon all such franchises, stringent conditions are imposed for the protection of the people against danger and against imposition, and the primary object in granting these franchises is the convenient and rapid transportation of the public, with only reasonable profits to the semi-public servants who undertake this task. On this side of the water, too often the corporation which deigns to transport the public treats the streets of which gratuitous use has been granted it as its own exclusive private property. Paying nothing

for the use of these streets, it often appears in court as evading taxation upon property that it owns, and entirely uncontrolled by the public wishes or welfare as to motive power and equipment it makes its own enrichment the primary object, and pronounces "commercially impracticable" any improvement merely for the benefit of the public, which temporarily or permanently may reduce its dividends.

SQUEEZING THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.

Cheapness is the great virtue of the trolley and in the eyes of the street railways that virtue is capable of covering a multitude of sins. The trolley's superior cheapness causes the cry of "commercially impracticable" in respect to superior motors that are found reasonably profitable in Europe and that have proved successful in this country, too, so far as tested, until the great electric companies, which are pushing the trolley have absorbed the inventors who have been developing better motors and have obtained control of the railways upon which their experiments have been conducted, after which event the other motors than the trolley have been quickly demonstrated to be failures. In the light of European examples the words "commercially impracticable," when applied to pneumatic, storage battery and underground conduit electric systems, mean not that they are unprofitable, but merely that at first at least they will not enable stockholders to get rich quite so fast as the trolley.

A USEFUL BUT NOT A UNIVERSAL MOTOR.

I do not mean to unjustly depreciate the trolley system. Through its use as a cheap motor many suburban and sparsely settled regions and ambitious villages have been built up which could not under the conditions that existed have secured rapid transit in any other way. There is something wonderful and inspiring in the impetus to rapid transit given all over the country by the campaign in behalf of the trolley within the last four or five years. Small, growing towns, especially in the west, have employed the

overhead electric system as a new means both of development and advertisement, and even the large cities, for use in whose streets it is unsuited, have been awakened by the persistent knocking of the trolley advocates at the municipal doors to the necessity of finding some substitute for the car horse and of adopting the best means of securing rapid transit, whatever that should turn out to be. But the avaricious action of the electric and some street railway corporations in attempting to extend the trolley's application and use far beyond its natural sphere, and in cramming it willy nilly down the throats of some of our large cities, assuring the struggling victims that it is pretty, harmless and pleasant to the urban taste, has developed a popular antipathy to it which sometimes prevents proper appreciation of its real merits in its appropriate field of operation.

The combination behind the trolley is very strong; since the amalgamation of the Edison and Thompson-Houston companies its power is tremendous. Among the Atlantic coast cities Boston has fallen a victim; Philadelphia is struggling in the combination's clutches, nearly overpowered, Baltimore has been partly captured, and New York has been recently threatened. At one time last session the House of Representatives even authorized the introduction of the trolley into the heart of Washington, whose smooth streets and partly successful crusade against existing overhead wires caused it to deserve more considerate and wiser treatment. Washington was saved only by an intelligent public opinion and the firmness of the Senate.

THE STRONG FIGHT IN BEHALF OF THE TROLLEY.

The controversial warfare in behalf of the trolley is waged with much skill and ingenuity, and also at considerable expense, since the newspapers charge high advertising rates for the publication of such matter as trolley affidavits in the local columns. The trolley argument assumes that the overhead system and rapid transit are identical, that the choice of motive power is between the ancient mule and the trolley,

and congratulates those who accept the latter as enterprising and progressive, and denounces those who do not as old fogies. It of course ignores the fact that the trolley is a mere makeshift and temporary device, the crude beginning of practical electric motors, still valuable in sparsely settled localities which can afford nothing better, but as much out of place in our large cities at this day as the first locomotive would be on any of our great trunk lines. Rapid transit in general is an indication of progressiveness. But circumstances and conditions determine whether rapid transit by trolley is progressiveness or old fogyism. In the cross-roads village it is the former ; in the metropolis it is the latter. The next step of the trolley argument is to pronounce the trolley current harmless, and to submit a volume of affidavits from employes who find amusing, profitable and healthful recreation in permitting the current to play through their frames, and in swearing to the fact. Those who have the misfortune to be killed by the current, like the man struck by the West End road's lightning in Boston last winter, and the lineman in Port Huron, Mich., this summer, say never a word. It is probably possible to habituate the human frame to electric shocks, so that the force of a current can be endured which would almost certainly kill a novice undergoing his first shock. The fact that one can accustom himself to the use of poison by taking gradually increasing doses and in time swallow with impunity a quantity that would in the beginning have certainly killed him, does not justify the scattering of arsenic or strychnine in such fashion as to expose the public indiscriminately to its effects. There is no more justification in exposing the public to be struck by lightning because some men have been shocked and still live.

HOW MANY VOLTS WILL KILL.

It is impossible for anybody to say what is the danger point in the electric current. Sir Wm. Thompson, Dr. C. W. Siemens and other eminent electricians reached the con-

clusion in a parliamentary investigation in England that a current of 300 volts is the limit of safety. The trolley current is 500 volts. For a considerable time this current, while it killed horses, could not be convicted of destroying human life, and some individuals certainly received its full shock with no further injury than a blistering and a general shaking up. In view of these facts many who were anxious only to learn the truth were disposed to believe that the safety limit set by the British electricians might be reasonably increased. But within the last year there have been at least two deaths from the shock of the current of 500 volts or less, and we are all at sea again in our calculations. It is also to be remembered that the wires are not rendered harmless by reducing the tension below the point which means death to the average man. Accidents to persons and experiments in New York upon dogs show a wide variation in individual powers of resistance to electricity. Some endure shocks which would ordinarily be expected to prove fatal, while others succumb to a much feebler shock, the result depending upon the physical condition of the victim and other special circumstances. One is not encouraged to expose himself to be struck by lightning by the reflection that some persons have recovered from such shocks, or by the suggestion that the artificial current which threatens him is a few volts below the number which will certainly kill him, and that if his physical condition is all right he may possibly pull through with his life.

KILLED BY THE TROLLEY.

The Port Huron Electric Railway Company, reporting concerning the case of the lineman killed by its trolley wire in August, says: "We tested our current twice during the same day and found that it was running at 500 volts and a little under at times. There was no post-mortem made, the man to all appearances being strong and healthy. The current, you will notice, passed directly through the left side,

and may thus have caused a fatality that under other circumstances would not have happened."

In this case, by the railway's admission, a strong and healthy man was killed by a current of 500 volts or less, and the only reassuring suggestion tendered is to the effect that if the current had not touched the victim's vital organs they would probably have remained unaffected by it. It is also said, conceding that the trolley current will kill some men, that the wire is up in the air and only linemen and not passengers are exposed to it. But it is to be remembered that the main danger from high potential electric currents is not directly from their wires, which the public will dread and shun, but from otherwise harmless wires to which the deadly current has by some crossing been communicated. The most effective electric executioner of the age has been the hanging telegraph wire, harmless in itself, but a death dispenser because in connection somewhere with the electric light current. The various cords of the network of overhead wires in large cities are constantly coming in contact, and every wire in a city system is armed potentially with the death current of its neighbor. All should be buried in underground conduits, and pending this burial no additions to the network should be tolerated.

THE PLEA FOR POLES AS STREET DECORATORS.

The trolley argument, after demonstrating the harmlessness of the current, generally goes on to reason the public into the belief that whereas other poles and wires are street obstructions and disfigurements, the trolley poles and wires are highly ornamental decorations, adding scenic attractions to the streets favored by their æsthetic presence. The increased danger from fire and the obstruction to the operations of the firemen supplied by the overhead construction, which increase the insurance rates in some places where the trolley prevails, are generally ignored in the argument.

WHERE UNCLE SAM IS VULNERABLE.

The rebuke of the European lessons to America on the subject of municipal rapid transit and improved motors strikes the greed of our capitalists and not the capacity of our inventors. The truth of the matter is that there are in the United States at the present time pneumatic, storage battery and electric conduit motors that are as good as and in some respect better than these European devices. But they have been viewed as not so desirable, i. e., not so cheap as the trolley, and, speaking generally, they have on this side of the water been merely experimented with in a half-hearted way rather than adopted and practically used. It is only necessary that our electric and street railway companies shall cease to suppress American inventiveness in the interest of the trolley and give our inventors the opportunity and encouragement to perfect the better motors. The European capitals suggest to the large cities of America that if they will firmly resist the attempt to foist upon them an objectionable motor the capitalists will discover promptly that they can afford to supply the best forms of rapid transit motor that the world can furnish.

WASHINGTON GIVES AS WELL AS TAKES A HINT.

In Washington, where the law forbids the erection of any more overhead wires within the city limits, and where public opinion has decreed and is working the extinction of the car horse, the development of the street railways in respect to motive power is most interesting. The capital's leading line, the Washington and Georgetown railroad, has adopted the cable system and has 10.26 miles of double and .55 miles of single track of this construction of the finest modern type. The next road in importance, the Metropolitan line, has selected the storage battery and has spent much time and money in perfecting this system. The change from horses to a mechanical motor must be made upon this line before July 22, 1893. When in practical operation with its 8.36

miles of double and 2.35 of single track this will be the most extensive and most notable storage battery system in the world. The road claims for its inventions wonderful improvements in the lightness of batteries and cars, the weight being reduced almost one-half; in length of life of the batteries, they being as nearly as possible indestructible; in improved mechanical appliances for quickly changing the batteries, and in cheapness of operation. It thinks that it has obviated the difficulties which heretofore have been permitted to prevent the extensive practical use of this motor. An extremely successful storage battery system of an improved pattern is also said to be in operation between Melford and Hopedale in Massachusetts. Washington has an actual as well as a proposed storage battery line, as the G street extension of the Eckington suburban road into the heart of the city, 1.17 miles in length, uses to the general satisfaction of the public this system. The storage battery and the pneumatic motor have the advantage over the cable and trolley and underground electric conduit, in that they supply each car with individual motive power, and it is not possible through an accident to a cable or to a single source of power supply to bring the whole system to a standstill. The perfected and cheapened storage battery promises to be the ideal motor. The Belt line, the third of the local street railways, with 6.60 miles of double track and 1.13 miles of single track, proposes to adopt soon an improved motive power, and has been looking over compressed air and carbonic gas motors. Chicago, Toledo and some other American cities have, it is said, experimented successfully on a small scale with the pneumatic motor for street railway purposes. It was expected that such a motor would be used on our suburban Brightwood avenue line after the conduit pneumatic system had failed to come up to the expectation of the builders of the road. But both the public and Congress became impatient at the delays in improving the motive power of this road, and by act of Congress a trolley is now to be used upon it, and it is being greatly extended

and double tracked. In its suburbs, therefore, the capital is tolerating and even preferring the trolley. Washington's objection to the trolley for urban use is not based upon ignorance of the merits of the motor for certain purposes and in its appropriate sphere. In the Eckington, Georgetown and Tenleytown and Rock Creek suburban lines, with a combined double trackage of over fourteen miles, it has as fine specimens of this style of road as the world can furnish.

ELECTRIC CONDUITS IN WASHINGTON.

The urban extension of the Rock Creek road, the trolley being barred by law, will use an underground conduit, similar to one successfully tested in Chicago, and in the general principles of construction something like the Buda-Pesth road. There are obvious drawbacks to the cheap operation of one end of a railway line by a motive power system different from that by which the greater part of the road is run. There is also a strong temptation to so manage affairs that the cheaper motor shall appear the better and that the more expensive shall be made a failure. Allegheny City had such a line with three miles of trolley and one of underground conduit, which District Commissioner Raymond represented in 1888 to be in successful operation, and which Capt. Griffin, then of the District engineer department, elaborately described in an official report, saying that it was operated with wonderful success in two inches of snow in the winter of 1887 '88. The combination of overhead construction for the suburbs, with an underground conduit for city use, is, however, good in theory and there seems to be no reason why it should not work admirably in practice. Before July 1, 1893, the Eckington road must change the motive power of the mile of its line lying within the city limits, that is at present operated by the trolley, to some form which will not require the overhead construction. It will select either the storage battery, which it uses on its present G street extension, or it will operate with an under-

ground electric conduit over all that part of its line which lies within the city, including an East Washington extension authorized by law but not yet constructed, and including the section over which the storage battery cars now run. The Columbia railway, with 2.81 miles of double track, is also soon to adopt a mechanical motor, with either the storage battery or an underground electric conduit. Its choice will probably be determined by the degree of success of the Metropolitan storage battery when in practical operation. The underground electric roads are expensive, whether in Buda-Pesth, Chicago, Allegheny City or Washington, being exceeded in first cost only by the cable, and the local roads with smaller incomes than the leading lines enjoy, anxious to secure mechanical motors that will be well within their means, have studied to cheapen the cost of this kind of construction. A plan has been submitted to the Columbia, for instance, of using one conduit between its lines of double track to accommodate both sets of tracks, thus making one conduit do the work of the two that are supplied to double tracks ordinarily. The Washington and Arlington road, which has in operation three miles of its line from the end of the Aqueduct bridge to Arlington, using the trolley, is preparing this section and will soon have it ready to operate with an underground electric conduit of a new pattern, which is also to be used upon the portion of this line within the City of Washington when it is constructed. In this electric conduit system there is no continuous conductor of exposed wire as in other systems. The working current is carried in an insulated cable and fed automatically to successive short sections of the road as the car passes over each section. The loss of current by leakage from miles of exposed wire is by this device avoided and the leakage reduced to a minimum.

It appears that all the various forms of improved motor, including that which bestows a unique distinction upon Buda-Pesth, are now being or are soon to be thoroughly,

practically and extensively used in Washington. The capital is already notable as the only city in the world in which the improved grooved rail has entirely superseded the projecting, wheel-wrenching T-rail. .Washington has within the last twenty years developed in many features of beauty, progressiveness and good government into the model American city, which the people of the republic visit not only with pleasure and gratified pride, but also with substantial profit in hints derived concerning modern municipal development which may be utilized at home. It is well within the bounds of probability that Washington, combining in its municipal policy the push and progress of the new with the solidity and safety of the old world, will in the near future become in the matter of local rapid transit the model city not only of America, but of the world, to which students from all parts of the globe will resort for suggestions concerning the latest and best forms of street railway motor.

[The Eckington railway has discontinued the use of the storage battery on its urban extension, alleging this motor to be an expensive failure. The storage battery company affirms that its motor was a success as long as it had charge of the operation of the cars, and that the railway has either through negligence or with deliberate intent ruined the motors furnished to it. A suit brought by the motor company against the railway is pending, and when tried will probably throw light upon the facts concerning this particular storage battery motor. The Eckington railway has secured an extension until July, 1895, of the time of changing its motive power.

The Rock Creek road has made use of an electric conduit system upon its urban extension, as indicated above, and this piece of road, about a mile in length, has been thus operated with great success. A charter is now asked from Congress for a new trunk line street railway which proposes to use this motor.

The Columbia road indicates its intention of putting in the cable.

The Metropolitan railway has abandoned its experiments with the storage battery, and is now (June, 1894) asking permission from Congress to make use of the Buda-Pesth system.

An Americanized form of the Buda-Pesth conduit system is thus already in practical operation in Washington on part of the Rock Creek road, and the Metropolitan proposes, if Congress is willing, to adopt the Buda-Pesth system with a very much narrower slot for use on all its lines.]

Life at the Hot Springs.

THE TRUE LAND OF THE SKALD.

A City to be Sold to Its Citizens—The Boiling, Stewing and Frying of Men.

[Correspondence of The Star.]

Hot Springs, Ark., *December 22, 1879.*

At Hot Springs there is an exchange of ills. One is freed from blood disorders and contracts "the blues." So it strikes one at first. An invalid's first day here, if mine may be taken as a fair sample, is gloomy and peculiar. If he has come from the North by way of St. Louis, the previous day and night have furnished an appropriate preface to the first chapter of Hot Springs experiences. Leaving St. Louis there has been an all-day struggle for the possession and retention of seats, in which the vanquished have paid extra for refuge in the Pullman, or have stood at the ends of the cars and watched with greedy eyes for some one to arrive at his station and leave an opening. The victors in the fray have been penned in a hot, unhealthy atmosphere, and have been entertained by the squallings of babies being emigrated to Texas. The troubled sleep of the night has been broken in the early morning by the necessity of changing cars at Malvern to the short, narrow-gauge line which runs to Hot Springs; for by a provoking perversity the train has selected this particular morning in the week to be on time. Before our invalid is fairly settled in his seat in the narrow-gauge car, a boarding house drummer has fastened upon him. Arriving at his destination he is placed in a coach, painted a bilious yellow, and driven into the city.

THE FIRST IMPRESSION OF THE PLACE

is given by the grave-yard, which stands on the outskirts welcoming the invalid visitor with ghastly suggestiveness. It has been raining, and as the coach enters the main street, traversing the ravine among the Ozark mountains in which the springs are found, black mud sticks to the wheels. The street is lined with low frame houses, mostly shabby, and threaded by a track over which cars are pulled at a sleepy pace by mules, which stop to doze at short intervals on switches. Having breakfasted, the stranger feels strong enough to see more. He stumbles along a wooden plank-walk, here half torn away, here full of holes, nearly everywhere rotten, dilapidated and dangerous. While thinking that no place needs better pavements and that none has worse, and wondering whether their condition is not an ingenious device to keep visitors from mischief and damp air by confining them to their rooms at night, he finds himself an object of assault.

THE CHARGE OF THE DRUMMER'S BRIGADE.

Drummers to the right of him, left of him, behind him, volley and thunder the praises of Dr. A. of Mr. B.'s drug store, of the XX bath house, of Mrs. C.'s boarding house. They engage in conversation with him on all sorts of pretexts. They turn up in the most unpromising-looking individuals and in the most unexpected places. The tendency of their arguments, taken collectively, is to lead him to believe that it will not be safe for him to eat, drink, bathe, or consult a physician while at Hot Springs. But he meets other people. Some are carried in litters or chairs; others move along after every conceivable fashion, from the plain walk, or unadulterated hobble, to the most ornamented and complicated systems of progression imaginable. He sees some persons with, and some without, noses. In his excitement he is convincing himself that the popular opinion is opposed to indulgence in these excrescences, when suddenly he meets a man completely run to nose, as it were, with

proboscis enough to compensate for the nasal deficiencies of all the others. Then he observes a creek flowing by the side of the street, and recognizes it with difficulty, as the "crystal brooklet" of imaginative Hot Springs descriptions. It is an open sewer, choked in places with shingles, barrel-staves, tin-cans and other matter. A faint odor, which is not of Araby, is wafted to his nostrils, and he envies the noseless men.

WHERE DOCTORS MOST DO CONGREGATE.

He reads the signs as he walks along. He thinks that he has solved the mystery of what becomes of the countless doctor graduates, which, with its fellow mystery of what becomes of the pins, has so long puzzled mankind. The more he sees the more firmly he is convinced that Hot Springs is a city of doctors' shops, drug stores, bath houses and boarding houses, with a few stores and churches thrown in to fill up the chinks. He reaches a point of the street, opposite which the mountain to the east is bare of houses, and from spots upon it and along its foot vapor rises into the air. He has come to the springs, and he knows that according to the traditions of the place he is near the infernal regions. He permits himself to wonder whether, if Hot Springs were there in reality, life in it would not be more cheerful. Then he gets his shoes blacked by the crawling remains of a negro stricken with paralysis, while the shadow of a man, with canes to sell, confides to him in a hollow voice that he has a tape-worm which every now and then grips him by the stomach, which organ must then be pounded until the "varmint" lets go. The stranger rushes desperately to his room and passes the rest of the day in painful meditation. But the city

IMPROVES WITH LONGER ACQUAINTANCE,

and this fit of melancholy soon passes off. Relief is found more rapidly, perhaps, if purer air and more cheerful sights are sought at some boarding house away from the main street, but on or near the line of the street

cars. In a short time the peculiarities of the place become interesting, even amusing, rather than depressing. The torn-up sidewalks quickly lose terrors for one who has known Washington during its most destructive era of public improvements; and the odorous creek even in warm weather cannot greatly offend the senses of one who has had a smelling acquaintanceship with the old Washington canal. Some of the visitors might even be disposed to vote to retain the street in its perilous condition. Excitements here, though rather more numerous than the snakes in Ireland, do not compare favorably with the number of Washington notaries public; and invalids found something to stir the blood in making their way with characteristic American daring over the rickety sidewalks at peril of life and limb, while they dodged the shower of stones blasted from the side of the mountain in the excavations for a new bath-house. But new foot-ways are building in places, the frame-work of the bath-house is up, and this amusement is killed. The hot waters soon come to have a positive fascination, whether used as a bath or as a beverage. Then to explore the windings of Hot Springs City through the neighboring valleys and over the sides of adjoining mountains, to collect specimens of the many-colored stones that are found in every walk, to view the city and surrounding country from the wooden observatory on Hot Springs mountain, to ride horseback to various cold springs in the vicinity or to make the same trips on foot, furnish sport to many. As the number of strangers here at any time, counting each visitor as one whether or not enough of his members remain to constitute a quorum, is said to average several thousand, one is almost certain to find congenial spirits who will help him to drive away "the blues" when they threaten. So that Hot Springs is a few degrees better than endurable, after all.

HOW WE BATHE.

When the Indians ventured timidly into the mysterious pools formed where the heated waters flowed from the earth

and rock, they were not sustained in faith by doctors or physically reinforced by drugs. The Arkansas pioneers who tested the great water cure, though denied modern luxuries, bathed freely and without fear. But the tendency to find mortal dangers lurking in things which our ancestors considered harmless has caused it to be discovered that later visitors less hardy than their predecessors, need to be inspected before bathing, lest through some abnormal condition of the heart or lungs the use of the waters prove fatal. So consider yourself inspected, and come with me to that particular one of the half-dozen bath-houses which we happen to favor with our patronage. There is a gentlemen's parlor on one side, and a ladies' parlor on the other, in which the expectant bathers await their turns, and in which they cool off after bathing. In the hall-way between them sits the proprietor, and behind him are the bath-rooms. When one enters he asks: "How long before my bath?" When the establishment is crowded the answer is generally "Ten minutes," which is the formula for an indefinite period. The answer to those who have waited two or three periods of ten minutes is decided, it is thought, by the amount of exasperation visible on the face of the inquirer. It is curious to observe the behavior of the different persons compelled to wait long for their turns. The following are the gradations of impatience verbally indicated among the men:—(1) Insinuatingly: "Don't let anybody get ahead of me, please." (2) Jokingly: "Isn't that man in No. 2 parboiled yet?" (3) Complainingly: "The fellow ahead of me will certainly do himself an injury. He's been in soak for an hour." (4) In the highest exasperation: "For Heaven's sake, have that dead man removed from No. 2. He'll begin to decompose if you don't take him out pretty soon." The women fidget, but as a rule say little. In respect to the contrasting conduct of the two sexes under the circumstances, an observant attendant says: "The men cusses and stays; the women keeps quiet, but quits."

THE BATHER'S BILL OF FARE.

A full bath consists of three courses. A boil of nine minutes or more in a tub, and a combined fry and stew, accomplished by sitting for several minutes on a hot plank in a box filled with vapor. Sometimes a "pack" is added, in which one is swaddled in blankets and converts himself into a sieve, pouring into his mouth hot water in copious draughts, which straightway exudes from every pore. On a little shelf above the bath tub are a thermometer, a tin cup and a three-minute sand glass. Sometimes the latter is in bad condition, with a disreputable, banged-up look, suggesting that it, too, has come to Hot Springs for its health. This kind of glass takes an unknown time to empty itself of sand, and causes wonderment, over-bathing and profanity. While one is in the tub the hot water is generally left running for a while, so that the temperature of the bath may be gradually increased. In case of temporary disablement, by paralysis or otherwise, a bather may find himself in the disagreeable predicament of the youth pictured by *Punch's* caricaturist, who dances about in a tub with lively emotion depicted on his countenance, shouting: "Help! help! I've turned on the hot water and can't turn it off again!" The predominant noises of the establishment are the calls of bathers for their attendants as the different stages of the bath are reached, and a sound of slapping such as is seldom heard outside of a nursery. The most heart-rending sound is said to be the hasty remonstrance of one, who, as he takes a *douche*, in which a stream of hot water is applied directly to the part affected, receives through mistake a bath of scalding temperature. The charge for baths is five dollars for a course of twenty-one, and one dollar a week is paid to your attendant. But you may bathe more cheaply. Climb Hot Springs mountain, where the water flows down the side leaving a green deposit, until you are among the pipes enclosed in wood, which conduct the water to the bath houses. In the course of a ramble it is likely that you will see

several persons sitting at small pools, either bandaging their legs after a bath or unwrapping preparatory to one. Then there is a large pool called the Mud Hole, enclosed in a building, in which one may bathe without charge after a certain hour.

THE "CORN HOLE."

But the "corn hole," the waters of which are said to soften and remove these excrescences, is the point of great interest. Ladies have the exclusive use of it in the morning and gentlemen in the afternoon. The waters of the spring flow into a circular basin, covered by a tent and lined by planks and cushions on which men are seated close together with their feet and ankles in the pool. Some remain in soak for hours. It is truly a democratic gathering. A judge, a tramp, a Senator, a backwoodsman, may here be sandwiched. A glossy beaver, a planter's sombrero and a disreputable slouch are seen in close proximity. A frowsy shirt, threadbare pants and well-worn moccasins contrast strangely with the immaculate toilet of some city "swell." The late unpleasantness is a frequent topic of conversation. And I recall few spectacles more memorable than that of a bloodthirsty military chap, crouched all in a heap, with head down and hands as well as feet in the water, growing excited over war reminiscences.

DO THE WATERS CURE?

Like all other springs in the United States, these are undoubtedly the fountains of eternal youth which Ponce de Leon sought. Like other waters prescribed as baths, they also suggest one or more of the Scriptural pools of healing. No one spring can claim, no pool can monopolize, these ancient allusions. But unlike many other springs, there is no doubt that these waters cure, *sometimes.* Indeed, one man given up for dead by half-a-dozen doctors was, it is said, recently brought to life here. To be sure, he had not actually bathed, but who can say how far the alleged electrical influences of the water permeate the surrounding atmos-

phere and give it life-restoring properties? These electrical influences, which have thrilled various newspaper correspondents and others, I take on faith. I have never felt them, but I have had experiences which suggest that there may be something in the theory. I know, for instance, that one who steps into his bath-tub without previously testing the water with a thermometer, sometimes steps out again with the same celerity of movement and the mingled astonishment and grief of mien that characterize one who has received an unexpected shock from a galvanic battery. It is reasonably certain, however, that there is something peculiar and undiscovered about the waters which enables them, in instances, to make marvellous cures. Faith, perspiration and a clean skin can effect much in the way of physical improvement; but, unaided, they could hardly have restored animation, health and strength to the tottering fragments of humanity that have visited Hot Springs and have gone away new-made men.

A CITY FOR SALE.

In 1832 the government reserved the Hot Springs and about four square miles of the surrounding country from sale and occupation. In time this fact was overlooked or neglected, both by people and government. A settlement grew up about the springs. Litigation among the settlers finally resulted in a decision by the Supreme Court that none of them had valid titles to their lands, the ground being a government reservation. For a time a receiver collected rents for the government. Finally a commission was appointed to lay out the reservation into city streets and blocks, to decide among claimants which have preferred rights to purchase from the government by reason of improvements on land, and to fix the prices at which the land shall be sold to such claimants, but Hot Springs mountain is reserved permanently from sale. All the claims have been adjudicated and certificates have been delivered, twelve months being allowed in which to pay for the lots.

THE FUTURE OF HOT SPRINGS.

Matters at Hot Springs are not at a standstill, even in the present unsettled condition of affairs. The sound of hammer and saw is heard in the land. In pursuance of their instructions to lay out streets, the commissioners have completed a city on paper. When the real city gives way to the theoretical, it will be to the advantage of its appearance and its sanitary condition. The houses on the line of the creek have been removed or destroyed, and the main street will be a comparatively wide one. Like its visitors, the city is "all torn to pieces" now, and is undergoing a building-up anew such as they experience under the action of its waters. But Hot Springs will never be restored to perfect health until questions of title have been set at rest forever, and it is owned by its citizens. When that happy day comes a brilliant future may be pictured for the place. A prosperous, bustling city is almost certain to find its location here, furnished with everything that ingenuity can devise to attract and entertain visitors; with its drives and parks, its great hotels, and its numerous and extensive bathing establishments, utilizing every gill of the 500,000 gallons of hot water that flow daily from more than 70 springs. Arkansas has some good land, I am told, and claims mineral wealth. Indeed Hot Springs itself has been flurried by newspaper announcements of the sale of silver mines in the vicinity, and by the discovery of gold indications said to be of astonishing richness, less than fifteen miles away. But until something more definite is established concerning the gold and silver wealth of the State, one cannot escape the conviction that Arkansas was created mainly to furnish a location for Hot Springs; and that the hot springs were made to issue here, providentially, in order that some inducement sufficiently powerful to draw people into Arkansas might not be wanting.

Our Next Door Neighbors.

THE HOME OF EVANGELINE.

HOW THE TIDE COMES IN AT THE BAY OF FUNDY.

On the Shores of the Basin of Minas—The Ghost of the Expelled Frenchman—Acadian Dykes, Acadian Willows and a Nova Scotian Bull—The Continent's Fog Factory.

From the Washington Evening Star, September 28, 1889.

[Special Correspondence of THE EVENING STAR.]

STEAMER ACADIA, MINAS BASIN, NOVA SCOTIA.

Evangeline, that ill-fated young French woman whom Longfellow kills and buries in dactylic hexameters, is *the* distinguished personage of Nova Scotia. The French are amusingly revenged upon their English conquerors in British North America.

In Quebec, though nominally dependent, they remain and prevail. To Nova Scotia, from which they were expelled, they supply historic and poetic interest, the topics of the guide-books and the main attractions for tourists. Indeed, English Nova Scotia is notable principally as occupying the site of French Acadia. The living, prevailing Frenchman attracts in Quebec; the ghost of the expelled Frenchman is the most interesting personage of Nova Scotia.

The American tourist seeks the valleys of Windsor and Annapolis on the shores of the basin of Minas, where the Acadians dwelt, and, with the poem of Evangeline as a guide book, ransacks the country for relics of the French occupation. The historian and the poet say that in 1755 the French lived in these happy valleys in a condition of

ideal bliss, luxuriating in fine crops, cattle and poultry, in early marriages, in the absence of paupers and law suits, in plenty of eating apples, in contented dispositions, and an abundance of "beer and cyder." But Acadia had passed under the control of the British, who were still at war with other Frenchmen in North America, and the Acadians were suspected of rendering aid and comfort to the latter. The Acadian realization of the dreams of the golden age was therefore rudely interrupted. British armed forces bundled the French owners out of the country and turned over their property to faithful subjects of the crown. Evangeline was among the scattered Acadians, and after the expulsion she spent the rest of her life in a search for her lover, Gabriel. This young man's conduct was peculiar and exasperating. While his sweetheart was energetically hunting for him over thousands of miles of territory he remained lumpishly in Louisiana during the yearning and the waiting and the whining until, as Longfellow poetically words it, he became "tedious to men and to maidens," or as we express it in prose, until he made everybody tired. And just as Evangeline had almost cornered him he moved listlessly out of the way, upon the pretext of some irrelevant hunting expedition and never came back. He was a slow youth and drifted naturally to a congenial resting place in Philadelphia, where he accomplished in the almshouse a lingering death to slow (hexameter) music. It is proper to give some space to Evangeline's affairs, because, as I have said, she is the central figure of interest in Nova Scotia. Judge Haliburton, better known in America as "Sam Slick," is perhaps, second among the local notabilities.

THE HOME OF EVANGELINE.

Evangeline lived at Grand Pré, so we bought tickets for the station of that name on the Windsor and Annapolis railroad, and landed when the conductor called "Gran' Perree!"

> "In the Acadian land on the shores of the basin of Minas
> Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand-Pré
> Lay in the fruitful valley."

The modern Grand Pré is just as quiet and secluded as that of Acadie. Only a few widely separated houses were seen in a preliminary survey of the land from the station. The fruitful valley lay before us, some orchards of hard and bitter winter apples supplying the fruit. The railroad seems to run through the Acadian farm of the late Mr. Bellefontaine, Evangeline's esteemed father, for we were now near to the basin and the dyke meadows, and our poetic guide-book locates Evangeline's home as follows:

> "Somewhat apart from the village, and nearer the basin of Minas,
> Benedict Bellefontaine, the wealthiest farmer of Grand Pré
> Dwelt in his goodly acres."

We turned our faces toward the basin and walked through the fields in which Evangeline played, or, later, promenaded with Gabriel. A row of misshapen, venerable willows is the most notable among the unmistakable relics of the French occupation. We climbed over, through and under a fence, respectively, to get to the willows, and played the part of vandals, pocketing pieces of the bark as mementoes. Then we examined the remains of an old French well (alleged) in the same field, and pumped ineffectually at the handle of the rotting pump which is now placed over it.

We are ready to believe that the well is the same which is described by our guide book, whose waters Evangeline has tasted.

> "Further down on the slope of the hill was the well, with its moss-grown
> Bucket, fastened with iron, and near it a trough for the horses."

We had further and less agreeable evidence that we struck Mr. Bellefontaine's place. The poet describing Evangeline's father's herd, says:

> "Pawing the ground they came * * *
> And with their nostrils distended."

Even as we were experimenting with Evangeline's well, curious to ascertain whether its water was as ancient to the taste as to the smell, these pawing, tail-switching Bellefontaine cattle bore down upon us. We retired expeditiously to our willows, the ladies doing themselves great credit as

sprinters. Feeling sure that Evangeline must have utilized these trees in giddy youth, we climbed their twisted trunks and low branches and arranged ourselves in easy Evangelinistic attitudes. But we did not retain them long, for the nostril-distended cattle aforesaid, which had routed us from the well, showed a disposition to take possession of the entire field, and a big-horned bull came charging toward us.

THE VIEW AT GRAND PRÉ.

We left at once, climbing over, under and through the fence as before, but combining the three methods of progression and passage more promiscuously and carelessly than in our entrance. The notable features of the field into which we thus rapidly removed ourselves were the supposed traces of some old French cellars. We could now look across the dyke meadows to the edge of the water in Minas basin. Portions of the French dykes, bearing testimony to their strength of build and durability of material, are still to be found, but the working dykes are of comparatively recent construction. They have been built since a great tidal wave and flood about twenty years ago. Our landlord at Wolfville, the town next to Grand Pré, gives a graphic description of the scene when the dykes were then swept away. It seems that one of the farmers had, Noahlike, predicted the coming of a great flood, and on the day fixed had marched himself down to the meadows, and notwithstanding jeers, had driven his cattle from the dykes to the high ground. The high tide and flood came according to prophecy, and the cattle of the mocking neighbors of the prophet were, in the main, swept away and drowned. The dyke system, as now seen from Grand Pré, is in excellent shape, though the work of repairing after the flood was slow and expensive. The dyke meadows furnish fertilizing soil and free pasturage of the finest sort to the farmers of the neighborhood. Within easy distance of our station at Grand Pré is the mouth of the Gasperau, where the British war vessels lay until they were filled with the Acadian settlers to be

transported. At this point Evangeline and Gabriel were separated. Here, too, Benedict Bellefontaine died. Having exhausted the supply of reminders of Evangeline and her family, and noting that our host the bull was still on guard at the willows, we circled back to the station and took the first train thereafter from Grand Pré.

CURIOUS FEATURES OF MINAS BASIN.

The basin of Minas is an arm of the bay of Fundy. At its mouth Cape Blomidon pushes far to the north and contracts the opening to a narrow strait. The bay of Fundy tides, the highest in the world, rising from 60 to 90 feet, come tumbling through this opening and vastly increase the water area of the basin. At low tide there is a broad strip of mud or wet beach encircling the whole basin. At high tide the mud is covered with a navigable depth of water and small vessels dart in and out. The villages on the south shore of the basin are seaport towns for a few hours of each day, and for the rest of the time their wharves look out upon a monotonous stretch of mud, in which ships may be imbedded. The action of the wonderful tides of this region is an unfailing subject of curiosity and interest to the stranger, and thereby hangs a tale—the tale of our trip by steamer over the basin of Minas in search of the tidal wave from the bay of Fundy. Our guide-book said on this subject:

> "In haste the refluent ocean
> Fled away from the shore, and left the line of the sand beach
> Covered with waifs of the tide, with kelp and slippery seaweed.
> Back to its nethermost caves retreated the bellowing ocean,
> Dragging adown the beach the rattling pebbles and leaving
> Inland and far up the shore the stranded boats of the sailors."

The ladies of our party reasoned that if the ocean in going down left hastily, and all at once, and accompanied the performance with a bellow, it would naturally go through a similar procēdure in coming back again. The notion they derived, I believe, of the bay of Fundy tidal wave was that of a wall of water 60 feet high that came bellowing up the beach like a bull of Bashan or of Grand Pré and filled

the eye like the flood at Johnstown, and an unquenchable curiosity to gaze on this marvel took possession of them. Like the hunters of the snark:

> "They sought it with thimbles, they sought it with care;
> They pursued it with forks and hope."

And never since the time of the snark hunt has there been, I believe, a desperate search so much resembling it as our

QUEST OF THE GREAT TIDAL WAVE.

The dribbling of the tide over the miles of nearly level mud beach in front of Grand Pré, Wolfville and neighboring villages on the south shore of the basin of Minas was not at all what they desired and expected. The destination of our trip was the precipitous shore of Cape Blomidon, or of the land on the other side of the basin, or the narrow opening through which the bay of Fundy pushed its waters into the basin of Minas. Our expedition began at Hantsport, one of the basin's south shore twice-a-day seaports, where we left the railroad train in light marching order to take a small steamer which was advertised to run at high tide to Parrsboro, on the other side of the basin. We found our steamer, the Hiawatha, resting on the dry beach at the end of its wharf. The water line was some distance out, but creeping steadily nearer. A number of other vessels occupied what a Washingtonian would be tempted to call the Minas or Hantsport flats. The only other indication of activity in Hantsport was the skeleton of a wooden ship in course of construction. Similar skeletons were seen at the other Minas villages. But the once flourishing industry of ship-building has shrunk almost to nothing since the decadence of the wooden ship and the decay of trade with the United States under the Dominion policy of protection. We descended into the Hiawatha from the wharf by means of a steep ladder and very soon climbed back again. A search for information developed certain facts which caused this sudden retreat. We could allow only two days for the tidal-wave trip. It

would be necessary to cross the basin at high tide of one day and return at a time which would enable the steamer to run into the temporary seaports on the south shore at high tide on the next day. The ladies failed to discover in this prospect any opportunity to observe their monster wave, so we scrambled up the ladder, with the intention of going by another boat to a village near Cape Blomidon on the south shore, and of visiting the cape the next morning at high tide by means of a carriage. Thus fate turned our steps toward

THE ACADIA, A MICROSCOPIC STEAMER,

which we discovered after some search hidden in the mud behind one of the wharves. The Hiawatha is small, but she is so large that she is compelled to run straight across the basin at high tide, and can waste no time in visiting on the way. The Acadia, however, can float and run in a moistened gutter, and therefore skirts the whole south shore of the basin, stopping at the various villages, before she crosses to the north shore. She is manned by three men. The captain is the Pooh Bah of the ship, serving also as pilot, purser and deck hand. As we were about to descend into the Acadia the consolidated captain and crew aforesaid requested us to wait a few minutes. We discovered that Hantsport dock can get up a strike as well as the docks at London. It seems that the Hiawatha and the Acadia, the only steamers on the basin, belong to the same owners, and the engineer of one of them had just begun an obstinate and determined strike. Unless an amicable settlement could be effected only one of the steamers could make its trip, and we were advised to save ourselves the descent into the Acadia until we were sure that she would leave the wharf. The officers and crews of the Hiawatha and Acadia, to the number of at least a half dozen persons, gathered in an excited group on the wharf and discussed the matter from every point of view with a number of Hantsporters as an interested audience, until the water began to creep under

the Acadia and she gave a shiver and a wriggle preliminary to floating. Then it was decided to hold the Hiawatha and send out the Acadia, a decision which I suspect was somewhat influenced by the fact that our party furnished three paying passengers for the Acadia, whose fares would be lost if she failed to make the trip. So we embarked and the Acadia steamed away from Hansport over the flats, with many puffings and several hair-raising blasts from a fog-horn whistle, the sound from which is many thousand times larger than the Acadia itself. We took possession of the steamer's pilot house, and the captain pointed out to us the objects of interest as we skirted the dyke meadows, passed the Gaspereau's mouth, the scene of the embarkation of the Acadians, and twisted up a narrow, crooked channel through the flats to the wharf at Wolfville. At this point the steamer took on four or five additional passengers and assumed the appearance of an overcrowded excursion boat. After diving in and out of several similar seaports we approached the one at which we were to leave the steamer to make the land trip to Blomidon. Our conversation in the pilot house had placed us on excellent terms with the captain, and at this juncture he upset our plans and caused us to hold another counsel of war by urging that we cross the basin to a place called Partridge Island, whose attractions he painted in glowing terms, instead of making the trip by carriage to Blomidon, which, he predicted, would be a tedious and unsatisfactory journey.

HO! FOR PARTRIDGE ISLAND.

The objection concerning the tides he met by stating that the Partridge Island hotel is at the very edge of the water, and that the ladies could see the tide come in from the windows of their rooms in the middle of the night. The objection that we were starving and could not possibly wait until we had crossed the basin before getting something to eat was brushed aside by his offer to provide us with a lunch. This argument carried the day. The Acadia is so small

that it hardly seemed possible that it could have an interior, but it really has, and in due course we descended into our "lunch room." It was small and close, and the steam from the boiler was blown by the wind directly into it, until it seemed to us that we might as well have lunched in the boiler itself. For lunch we had tea, without milk, in which we stirred brown sugar with pewter spoons; large, hard crackers; huckleberry pie eaten with knives, no forks being among the steamer's furnishings, and uncooked huckleberries. We were hungry and ate the lunch. It did not cost much, and we had a Turkish bath thrown in gratuitously. In crossing to the north shore of the basin we steamed close to the side of Cape Blomidon, which seemed to stretch farther and farther in front of us the more of it we passed. The dark mass of the promontory, the lighter wall-like layer along the upper edge, and the trees projecting cannon-like above this wall give Cape Blomidon the appearance of a fortress.

Finally shaking itself loose from Blomidon the steamer puffed across the narrowest part of the basin to the north shore and to Partridge Island, which is so called, first, because

NO SUCH THING AS A PARTRIDGE

was ever seen upon it, and, second, because it is not an island. We landed at a long, strongly-built pier with openings at different heights in its end and side to permit landings to be made at different stages of the tide. Our hotel was found to be an old-fashioned country boarding house near the end of the pier. Walking toward the bay of Fundy from the hotel we picked our way along a wonderful beach, a mass of pebbles, several hundred feet wide at low tide, in which shells and geological specimens of great interest are found. Following the curve of this beach we soon found ourselves under the cliffs of a promontory, which here pushes out into the basin. Leaving the ladies to collect specimens I climbed by a circuitous path to the top of the promontory and enjoyed a fine view from the seaward and

more precipitous side of the cliff. The junction of the basin of Minas and the bay of Fundy, outlined by Capes Sharp and Split, lay before me, and across the basin frowning Blomidon aimed at me its forest guns. The tide was now low and we were able to explore the beach on both sides of the cliff. It was interesting to walk close to the foot of the perpendicular rocks, where only a short time ago big waves were dashing and to gather waifs from the sea, shells and weeds, amethysts, acadialyte and other 'lytes. The best specimens of amethysts are found on the opposite shore at Cape Blomidon, but there was enough of geological material to be found at Partridge Island. We collected something less than a ton of specimens, so that our trunks henceforth became the source of temporary suspicion and joyful expectation to customs officers and of unvaried bitterness of spirit to porters along our homeward route. These specimens with the willow bark from Grand Pré, are our only permanent reminders of Nova Scotia. Our efforts to obtain as a characteristic souvenir, a blue-nosed image made of codfish scales was unsuccessful, and we had no facilities for the conveyance of a chunk of the fog.

It was now low tide, and we walked on the beach out to the end of the pier where the Acadia stood on firm ground at the foot of a wall of logs fifty-five feet high, covered with moss and matted sea-weed. The Acadia passes a curious existence. It is amphibious. It lives for a few hours of each day in and on the water, and for the rest of the time it dwells on dry land. Its career is one of vicissitudes. It has all the ups and downs of life of an elevator boy. At low tide it is helplessly stranded at the foot of a sixty-foot pier; at high tide it has risen sixty feet or thereabouts and is tugging at ropes holding it to the top of the pier. The ladies, the hunters of the tidal wave, arose at 2 o'clock in the morning to see high tide. They affirm that the water washed over the top of the pier, and in a general way that it was magnificent. Whether it came with a bellow or like

a Johnstown flood deponents say not. Their silence suggests that this tide rose very much like any other tide, and gives the same sort of inconsequential ending to our quest of the monster wave that characterized the hunting of the snark.

WHERE FOGS ARE MADE.

The great drawback to Partridge Island as a popular summer resort is probably the fog, which settled down upon everything, obstructing the view and making the atmosphere damp and uncomfortable, not long before we steamed away on the Acadia for our return trip. The bay of Fundy is as notorious for its fog as for tides. Its fog is rather thicker than, but not so warm as, a blanket. This is the greatest fog-factory on the continent. It runs night and day in the manufacture of the article and there has never been a strike to interfere with its operations. It is denied that this fog can climb over or get around Blomidon to the south shore Acadian villages. Longfellow says:

> "Aloft on the mountains
> Sea-fogs pitched their tents, and mists from the mighty Atlantic
> Looked on the happy valley, but ne'er from their station descended."

The modern successors to the Acadians make similar statements. If this be true, the south shore in immunity from fog has one strong recommendation to counterbalance the attractions of Partridge Island and the north shore.

There are some notable differences between the ancient and modern Acadians. The contented dwellers in the happy valley knew nothing of discord or complaints. The disconsolate wailing was confined to the elements.

> "Loud from its rocky caverns, the deep-voiced neighboring ocean
> Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest."

The new Acadians do their own growling, and do it with enthusiasm; and Boston is preferred to Acadie, no longer the happy valley. Their main grievance is the union of Nova Scotia to the Dominion, with the necessary result of the adoption by her of the Dominion's protective policy, which has worked disastrous results in destroying a large

part of the former profitable trade with New England. Commercially the maritime provinces are naturally in close relations with New England, much closer than with the inland provinces which govern the revenue policy of the Dominion. It is consequently in the maritime provinces that the nearest approach to

A SENTIMENT FAVORABLE TO ANNEXATION

to the United States is to be discovered. Their present annexation talk, however, is based largely upon the prospect of commercial advantages not to be otherwise obtained. If free trade with the United States could be had very few indeed would give a second thought to the question of political union at this time.

There is no immediate prospect of the peaceable annexation of Canada or any part of it to the United States. In Ontario and Quebec the average citizen thinks little of the subject. "Annexationist" is there a term of reproach. The French of Quebec are the strongest in opposition to every suggestion of annexation. As a state in the Union Quebec fears that it would not be able to retain an established church, the use of the French as the official language, the French law, and its present importance as the balance of power in Dominion politics.

Annexation by violence is in the highest degree improbable, though some of the Canadians frighten themselves with this bugaboo. The Republic will have no unwilling citizens; no reluctant states. Indeed, those who are ready and anxious for admission to statehood and full citizenship have not found it in the northwestern territories an easy task to secure annexation by the most persistent effort.

THE FUTURE OF CANADA.

The narrow strip of settled territory along the northern edge of the Republic should naturally, however, in the course of time be united with it. So far as nearly all of this strip is concerned annexation would be of advantage to

both parties. All the provinces except Quebec would, their people desiring it, assume the character of American states or territories without a jar. The Republic could easily digest them and enjoy its meal. The case of Quebec, however, presents a problem. Would the province be absorbed like Louisiana or would it remain an unrepublican, indigestible, health-destroying morsel in the stomach of the body-politic? The half-million of French Canadians who have crossed the border into New England move in large bodies, use their own language, follow their own customs, and are surrounded but not absorbed by the people of the states. How long would it take the Republic to colonize and Americanize Quebec with its million and a quarter of French people, which has resisted all efforts to Anglicize it by the British, who in theory govern it, and which grows more and more of a French nation every day? Would the Republic dare to admit to the rank of an equal with the states a community of unrepublican institutions and tendencies, which would not surrender them without an obstinate struggle?

Canada is

A LAND OF UNREST AND DISCONTENT.

Race is arrayed against race, religion against religion, province against province. The dweller on the coast and the northwest settler are alike injured and exasperated by the protective system which cuts them off from free intercourse with their natural markets in the United States. Frenchman and "Britisher," Roman Catholic and Protestant, fisherman and farmer, are wrangling and snarling.

In the Republic the intense heat of American nationality and national pride fuses to some extent diverse races. In Canada, where no strong common spirit of nationality can be said to exist, every prejudice of race and religion is kept alive and fostered.

The proud thoughts of the French Canadian turn to Paris. The pride of the English Canadian is in London. The

thoughtful and sensitive native Canadian not of French descent finds no place to which he can turn for the enjoyment of pride of nationality. He is by birth an American, but that name and all the modern history of his continent and an intense nationality and national pride belong to the people of the great Republic to the south of him, with whom his interests and largely his sympathies lie, but with whom he may not unite politically without reproach. He feels that he is alienated from the tendencies and aspirations of the continent of his birth; that he is merely a despised colonist, a species of political outcast, like the man without a country, or a citizen of the District of Columbia.

Some change will surely happen in Canada. Either the colonies will receive through a federation scheme representation in the councils of the British empire, and Canada will thus be drawn closer to England, or the English provinces of the Dominion, which are gradually assimilating themselves to the Republic, will be admitted to the union of states. The press of the Republic furnishes the exchanges of the Canadian press, and the tone of the latter is American rather than European. The process of assimilation goes on with satisfactory rapidity. The Dominion is being Americanized, though it is not being annexed. In time the thoughts of the Canadians will turn toward annexation The isolation and humiliation of the colonial position will not be forever endurable, and the signs of the times do not point to relief by a grant of representation in the British parliament.

To Earth's Center.

YELLOWSTONE PARK AND ITS COUNTLESS WONDERS.

THE LAND OF GEYSERS.

Volcanoes that Spurt Hot Water—Boiling Springs with Rainbow Colors—Canons and Cataracts—Mountains of Sulphur, Silica and Limestone.

From the Washington Evening Star, October 25, 1890.

[Staff Correspondence of The Evening Star.]

Mammoth Hot Springs, August, 1890.

When Jules Verne once wished to give his readers a glimpse of the wonders of the center of the earth, he was compelled to send them in imagination to Iceland, to grope perilously in the recesses of extinct volcanoes. Nowadays we have changed all that. We go to Yellowstone Park, and the contents of the world's interior are brought to the surface and exhibited for our convenient inspection on mountain heights, more than a mile above the level of the sea. Here we do not descend to the world's center. It ascends to us. Waters steaming with the earth's internal fires issue here as springs, building terraces, depositing stalactites and stalagmites of limestone and silica, as in the remotest corners of the deepest caves. There is here an open-air Luray exhibition, in which underground processes are conducted on the surface, at heights greater than the summit of Mt. Washington. There are displayed here not only reminders of heat dispatched from the center of the earth, but also specimens of the chemical products of nature's underground paint factory. The most brilliant colors imaginable are deposited by the boiling waters. Not merely things of beauty are sent from below. In the geysers there is a suggestion

of the tremendous power of the forces that lurk under the earth's crust. A cleft in the surface of the rock and earth, a thousand feet deep and more than twenty miles long, into which a river falls, displays on its sides the vivid colors which indicate the work of agencies from vastly greater depths. Then there are mountains of evidence in volcanic rock of a time, geologically recent, when the earth belched through such vent holes as those of the geysers fire and melted lava instead of hot water and steam. Little patches of the earth's crust are turned inside out. Rumblings and roarings of the underground world affright the ear, and frequent messengers from it leap into the air and startle the eye. Uncle Sam has not been able to climb the north pole in advance of the universe, but he can boast of getting closer and more convenient views of the wonders of the center of the the earth than any national competitor.

I made my journey, then, to the world's interior, not by the Verne route—down a volcano shaft—but by the Northern Pacific railroad to Cinnabar, Mont., and thence by stage to

MAMMOTH HOT SPRINGS,

the first attraction of Yellowstone Park.

Looking from the hotel porch our group of recently-arrived tourists saw, not far distant, a white-terraced hill emitting steam from many points. In front of it and nearer to us was a sloping plateau, also displaying terraces and little clouds of steam, and from its surface a cone-shaped mound projected. We soon found by a scramble of inspection that the steam marks the site of springs; that the white hill and its terraces and the plateau are calcareous deposits of the hot water, and that the curious mound, known as Liberty Cap, is composed of overlapping layers of the sediment, and was built up many years ago to the height of fifty-two feet by the overflow of water from the orifice at its top. The springs, of which there are more than fifty now active, are scattered over about 170 acres of ground. They are constantly shifting and issuing in new places, and names

change with each change of location. Cleopatra spring and terrace, for instance, the themes of the glowing descriptions of the guide book, for which we made diligent search as in duty bound, are found to be things of the past, dead and gone to decay like Cleopatra, herself. A like fate will soon overtake the active and attractive springs of to-day. Minute description of the present springs, with their present names and conditions, is thus discouraged. The most notable feature of the springs is the limestone deposit of the water, and the deposits are remarkable for their vast amount, for the curious and beautiful shapes which they assume, and for the vivid colors which vary the dazzling white and gray of the limestone. There are here three square miles of calcareous deposit similar to the material of which St. Peter's and the principal buildings of Rome are constructed. The deposits, as a rule, appear as terraces, the spring issuing at the top of the formation, and the water flowing into limestone basins, and overflowing into another series of basins at a lower level, and so on to the foot of the terrace. The stalactite formations at the edge of the basins often extend in crystal many-tinted columns down to the level of the next series of basins and constitute the terrace front. They are very beautiful when recently formed and wet. The ancient dry formation is apt to crack and crumble. The appearance of the terraces has been aptly compared to that of a cataract plunging over natural shelves, which, as it falls, is turned to stone. The predominant color of the deposit is grayish white, but other colors appear in profusion and show to advantage against the limestone background. The basins are often pink-tinted and about their borders and around the springs are all tints of brown, red and yellow. Peculiar vegetation supplies shades of green and the water itself is a transparent light blue.

THE BUGABOO OF THE PARK.

As you tiptoe through the hot water in the neighborhood of the springs you find yourself under the inspection of a

figure in uniform, a representative of the might and majesty of the United States army. He is there primarily and theoretically to keep you from breaking and stealing the "formation," acts against which you are warned at every step by "Keep of the grass" placards. Incidentally he serves (for a consideration) as guide. The first shock of discovery that you have a military keeper soon passes, and in a little while you pay no more attention to a soldier than to a new spring. Familiarity breeds at least lack of interest and lack of fear. Soldiers pop up everywhere about the sights of the park. They are omnipresent reminders that Uncle Sam through his military arm is in active control of things. By law the Secretary of Interior has exclusive charge of the 3,575 square miles of the park, which have been reserved from settlement by Congress, and is required to make regulations for the protection of the natural curiosities and wonders contained in it. But Congress several years ago cut off the appropriation for a superintendent and assistants to care for the park, and the work of carrying out the regulations of the Secretary has been added to the diversified duties of the army. In the absence of fighting to be done the Government offers its men of war a wide range of employment, from blacking an officer's boots to municipal government of the District, and including the position of policeman and guide in the Yellowstone. There is then a mixture of civil and military in the management of the park, just as there is in the government of the District of Columbia. Its government is that of a military reservation nominally under civil control, a sort of "double-faced gentleman," like Janus.

PLANNING THE CAMPAIGN.

The evening of the first day in the Yellowstone is spent in a struggle for advantage in securing places in the vehicles which are to make the round trip of the park. The seats in the stage or surrey in which you leave the hotel in the morning will probably be retained by you through the rest of your journey. Consequently it is a matter of great import-

ance to become a member of an agreeable party, if your own party is not sufficiently large to fill one of the vehicles. So all through the evening you are weighing in the balance your fellow passengers and being weighed by them in turn. The opinionated and quarrelsome individual, the traveled "hog," the invalid, the incorrigible punster, the party with spoiled and whining children are all noted, and avoided. At this time, too, we received the appalling information that we would come in contact with a Raymond excursion, and we took our first lesson in regard to the nuisances of the park. We learned that these are dust, mosquitoes, rain, bad water, and—worst of all, ranking with the plague of Egyptian locusts or American grasshoppers—Raymond excursions. Yes, the inoffensive-looking excursionist, who travels where the manager listeth and who knows not whence he cometh or whither he goeth, jammed in the park hotels and stages and apparently deserving sympathy instead of reproach, is in the Yellowstone an unmitigated nuisance. The hotels, except those at the Hot Springs and the Canon, are small, rattletrap affairs. When one of these large excursions, with quarters engaged in advance, goes sweeping through the Yellowstone, it is not only wretchedly housed itself, but it absolutely renders the park uninhabitable for the small private parties and individual travelers. By permitting them to enter, with its hotel accommodations in their present condition, the park association is discouraging all other travel and is killing the goose that lays the golden egg. One of these parties overtook us on our second day in the park, as predicted, and we were engaged in dodging it, with inconvenience to ourselves, during our whole trip. Until the association has been compelled to erect suitable hotels at all the necessary points the Northern Pacific ticket offices and stations, at least at the ends of the line where book tickets for the round trip of the park are sold, ought to be placarded with words of warning whenever an excursion party is about to enter the Yellowstone. Prohibitory placards directing you not to tread upon the forma-

tion, and not to break or injure the formation, and not to leave your camp-fires burning, and not to do this, that and the other thing stare you in the face at every turn. To the list should be added one after this fashion :

Beware !! Keep out of the park !! Excursionists in possession !

Next morning we started for the geysers. I was in a two-seated vehicle carrying three persons besides the driver. We came last in the procession of vehicles, a position which we retained and which we utilized to enable us to linger at points of interest without delaying our fellow travelers. The day was one of stage riding, with sufficient sideshows to make the trip an interesting one. Glimpses of the top of the mountains, which constitute the rocky wall of the park, the yellow cliffs of Golden Gate, the black and (in places) glistening walls of volcanic glass that make up Obsidian cliff, little cataracts like Rustic falls, the beaver dams and houses of Beaver lake, the springs and second-rate geysers of the Norris basin, which lie near the road, contributed to the interest of the day's sight-seeing. The most notable sell of the day was the guide book's wonderful roadway of obsidian, "the only piece of glass road in the world." Visions of treading upon a New Jerusalem style of pavement were dispelled by a sight of the road, which on the surface is unmistakable dirt, with no visible points of superiority over any other road. What lies beneath the surface as the foundation of the road, whether volcanic glass, gold ore or gravel, deponents say not and care not. The journey was also enlivened by the "irrepressible conflict" between the drivers and certain tourists. Hostilities on the part of the latter consisted in firing countless "fool questions" at the drivers, in delaying the vehicles at each supposed point of interest and in writing denunciatory letters to the newspapers after the trip. The drivers got even by occasionally starting their

horses with unusual promptness if a geyser appeared to be about to play, and by way of further retaliation they have named a geyser "The Tourist," which does nothing but growl and sputter. Late in the afternoon we arrived at Lower Geyser basin. We stopped there to spend the night mainly, it appeared, because the hotel had been built there. There seemed to be no other reason for tarrying at this point instead of pushing on to Fountain or Excelsior geyser, where there was something to see. We invited rheumatism and strained our eyes standing on and gazing from the damp banks of the Firehole river at alleged beavers, which, it appears, are accustomed to come out into the river to feed just when it gets too dark to see them. Then, having exhausted the sights, we went to bed.

ON TO THE GEYSERS.

The next day was geyser day. The program presented a series of wonderful sights from early in the morning until late at night. The first geyser which we saw was the Fountain, and because it was the first we were much impressed by its eruption. Its water column when it is spouting is fountain-like and pleasing in shape, but it does not play to any great height. Near it are the paint pots, an exhibit of the results when the hot water of the park forces its way to the surface through earth instead of rock. A basin forty by sixty feet, like that of a spring, is filled with a throbbing mass of mud. It is like the most agitated and threatening of quicksands. Mud waves of various shapes surge up and fall back with a plop-plop, plunkety-plunk accompaniment. At one point in the basin the mud rim is broken, and numerous mud cones, a foot or two in height, have been formed. The mud at this point is red, pink and gray, and from this fact the name paint pots is derived. Some of the cones belong to miniature mud geysers, which play to the height of several feet.

Soon we were in sight of the Excelsior geyser,

THE LARGEST IN THE WORLD.

Its crater is a vast pit, 400 feet long by 250 feet broad. It is constantly filled within eighteen or twenty feet of the surface with water, boiling as in a devil's caldron and hiding nearly all of the opening with steam. In its full eruption an immense volume of water rises from a hundred to three hundred feet in the air, carrying with it masses of the rock formation, and falling doubles the apparent volume of the Firehole river, which flows close at hand. In walking to the overhanging edge of its crater the crust sounds hollow to the tread, a grumbling and threatening murmur is heard, sulphurous odors stifle and steam blinds the observer. The place is terrifying, and if one found himself in it alone on the occasion of his first visit he would be apt to take to his heels. Sustained by the presence of fellow sight-seers and unconscious of the danger I worked to the very edge of the crater. As the steam blew away momentarily from the other side of the crater I saw that the overhanging edge was a mere crust, undermined by the boiling water, and ready to fall into the caldron at any moment. I stood not upon the order of my going, but went away at once. The site of the Excelsior is aptly termed "Hell's Half Acre." The geyser evidently broke through the earth's crust suddenly and violently. It has no cone, and in this respect it resembles the great geyser of Iceland, from which the name geyser, meaning gusher or rager, is derived, and which when it was thought to be the only one in existence was visited by scientific men from all parts of the world. The absence of a cone is viewed as an indication of tender youth in geysers. Excelsior is therefore considered as the giant infant among the great geysers of the Yellowstone, and those in the upper basin of the park, with their remarkable cones, rank as the oldest in the world. Hell's Half Acre displays the beautiful as well as terrible. Not far from the crater of the geyser, and likely before many years to become part of the geyser's

basin through the rapid undermining and tumbling in of the separating formation, are Turquois spring and Prismatic lake, the latter being the largest and most beautiful spring in the park. The siliceous deposit from the geyser's waters and connected springs does not form so rapidly or so profusely as the calcareous deposit of the mammoth hot springs, but resembles it when formed, and is characterized by the same beautiful color. The water of Prismatic lake is blue or green, according to its depth. About the borders are yellows, reds, purples, browns and grays. The lake of many colors gleams like a jewel in its grayish-white setting of silica deposit. Reluctantly leaving the wonders of this spot we soon found ourselves driving among the bewildering profusion of geysers and springs in the upper basin, and to our stopping place at the hotel. Here, within the space of a few miles, is

THE MOST WONDERFUL GEYSER EXHIBIT

in the world. There are here more great geysers, that is, geysers spouting over 100 feet in height than are elsewhere collected. The heat which displays itself is that of the earth's center, increased by that which is produced by mechanical action in the rocks of the region and that which belongs especially to the volcanic rocks in which the springs are located. The geysers are pronounced by the scientists to be volcanoes in the last stage of development—water volcanoes, so to speak. The evidences of the close connection between volcanoes and geysers are overwhelming. The former usually grow into the latter, but the reverse process has taken place, and it is recorded that not many years ago the great geyser of Iceland for a considerable period erupted hot smoke and ashes instead of water. The volcano which spouts lava is so dangerous to life while in eruption that its wonders are comparatively inaccessible. The water volcano, though displaying a terrible power, can be safely studied while in action.

For a mile along the Firehole river and on both sides of it rise a succession of mounds of geyserite, dotted with boiling springs and the craters of geysers, all steaming vigorously, and the latter at intervals erupting. Each one of the twenty-six notable upper basin geysers has a peculiar and distinctive crater, or a characteristic noise or appearance in action, which gives it a name. Frequently the formations about the craters are tinted with delicate colors, and they assume various shapes from the cone and cylinder to the turreted castle. In a few cases the geyser has no crater deposit at all. Some of the geysers work quietly, with only a swishing, rushing sound. Others roar and shake the ground. There is an infinite variety in the different forms of geyser exhibit.

The patriarch of the collection is the Castle, which has been depositing geyserite for so many centuries that it has built for itself a castle-shaped structure with a base 100 feet in diameter. This deposit is very hard, as one of our party, who climbed to the orifice of the cone and losing footing, slipped down a silica toboggan slide to the bottom, can feelingly testify. There is little that is reliable in the printed statements concerning the intervals of eruption, height of column, &c., in these geysers. The quantity of water thrown out, the height to which the column rises, and the length of the exhibit vary greatly in different eruptions of the same geyser. Old Faithful and a few of the minor geysers observe a satisfactory regularity in their intervals of display, and their eruptions are the only ones seen by many visitors to the park. Old Faithful, which throws a fine column of water between 100 and 200 feet into the air at intervals of about an hour, stands near to the hotel, and furnishes as good an opportunity for the study of geysers and geyserite as any in the world. But the greatest interest is taken by visitors in the geysers spouting a greater volume of water with longer and more irregular intervals if they are lucky enough to get sight of these rarer eruptions.

ERUPTION OF THE GIANT.

After dinner we had walked from the hotel past Old Faithful, across the Firehole river, and were leisurely inspecting the cones and craters and springs of "geyser hill," a great mass of deposit covering over twenty acres, where many of the principal geysers are collected. Suddenly we saw on the other side of the river and some distance from us a column of water rising high in the air. Then followed a breathless race to the place of the eruption. It was the Giant geyser, which is credited with spouting higher than any other in the upper basin, in full action, a spectacle of comparatively rare occurrence. We passed a dozen craters and springs in our rush toward the Giant, and one of the geysers—the Oblong—was actually in eruption; but we were not to be diverted from the more imposing spectacle. From the Giant's cone, which is shaped like an immense tree stump decayed and broken away at one side, a column of water spurted with a mingled hissing and roaring 200 feet in the air, and, falling back, poured over the terrace of deposit which serves as a platform for the crater, and swelled and heated the Firehole river. Clouds of steam sent out by the hot water rose above the geyser's column, until to one looking from the foot of the geyser it seemed to mingle with the clouds and fill the sky. Portions of the column appeared to receive in turn special impetus and shot out in jets into the sunlight and fell in a brilliant spray of sparkling, scalding drops. The eruption lasted for about an hour.

On the side of the great platform of geyser deposit which was farthest from the river the spectators were collected. The number increased as the eruption progressed. Every few minutes there would be fresh arrivals in a state of high excitement. It was on this occasion that I first fully appreciated the omnipresence of the camera and the kodak. Every other man, woman and child seemed to be taking a view or series of views of the eruption. Here a veteran with a tripod was philosophically fixing the scene from the

best point of view. Here a youngster, breathless with running and excitement, was dancing around the geyser, or as far around as he could get, and snapping a kodak at short intervals. Nobody but the photographer who develops his films will know exactly how many views he placed upon the same film, or how many snaps were made with the cap shutting out the view altogether.

Kodak fiends revel in the park. They gather about the site of an expected eruption and train their weapons upon it and lie in wait for it just as the festive potato bug places himself in position to grapple the plant as it issues from the ground. The most modest and retiring geyser is not permitted to spout unseen and unsnapped. But the principal beauty of the park, the coloring of geyserite and limestone, cannot be photographed; the blinding glare of the sun reflected from the deposit plays havoc with view-taking, and the great geysers wet the kodak with steam and laugh to scorn the attempt to reproduce their majestic but vague and constantly changing outlines. But what cares the kodakist? Everywhere he goes merrily snapping, too often careless and unappreciative of the wonders and beauties of the park except as they furnish targets for his shooting. When others are feasting their eyes on the grand and attractive he rushes about in absorbing search for a snap-shot point of view, and his thoughts instead of being moved with wonder and admiration run evermore in this groove: Remove cap, snap, pull string, turn key, snap, pull string, turn key, snap, pull string, turn key, and so on to infinity.

The guide book is not more misleading in its confident assurances concerning the intervals and duration and height of eruption of the greater number of the geysers than it is in its information concerning those which are active. It gives vivid descriptions of a number which have

GONE OUT OF BUSINESS

for a long time and possibly permanently. There is the Bee Hive, for instance, which is described as one of the most

beautiful in the upper basin, and is, of course, one of the first objects of search for the eager tourist. Many doses of soap thrown into its crater to bring on a quick eruption have after performing their purpose of temporarily stimulation, disabled the geyser permanently to all appearances. For a long time it has not played at all, resisting all the blandishments of soap, and it is now of no use to anybody unless a shaft can be sunk into it in order that it may be worked as a soap mine. There are geysers in the basin which are in the habit of putting on all the symptoms of an intention to erupt, and then of subsiding, to the disappointment and indignation of the expectant spectator. The tourist is hereby warned especially against the (so-called) Splendid geyser, around which we stood for an hour, momentarily expecting an eruption. The tourists who were to leave the upper basin that afternoon were fairly dragged from the spot by their drivers in an agony of disappointment with their eyes fixed upon the point where every minute Splendid was expected to rise into the air. But he boiled and gurgled and sputtered and surged up for half an hour afterward, and then failed to erupt after all. The principal photograph of this geyser is entitled " Waiting for Splendid to Erupt," and we can now appreciate the appropriateness of the selection of this view by the park photographer. In the evening we enjoyed a delightful drive to some of the more remote of the springs and geysers of the upper basin. We saw a highly ornamented and gigantic geyserite punch bowl and Specimen lake, so called, the overflowings of a wonderful spring called Black Sand basin. This water, heavily charged with deposits, has spread over acres of ground not only the gray of the geyserite, but the most brilliant coloring in yellows and reds and in delicate pink, saffron and green. The deposit has formed about the roots of trees, around which the hot water has washed, and has been taken up into their trunks, and as the trees stand about the edge of the formation white and dead, or uprooted, fallen and twisted, they look

like the skeletons of some of Doré's monsters. In driving over the edge of the formation it seemed as if the vehicles were passing through snow and slush. The snow effect was heightened when later the moon came out, and the whiteness of craters and mounds of geyserite everywhere readily suggested a winter sleigh ride. There was something ghostly and ghastly in the desolation and peculiar whiteness of the scene. Rider Haggard could well make this the scene of a weird and imagination-straining story, entitled, let us say, "The Land of the White Death." Our drive carried us to the Biscuit basin, where the deposit takes the shape of masses of hard-baked olive-green biscuit, and where, with other curious things, we saw a spring in which at intervals of a minute a large, silvery bubble rose to the surface from unknown depths, a very mild eruption viewing the spring as a geyser. Returning to the hotel we walked to the woods not far distant and watched the operation of feeding a small black bear, which two of the hotel men have induced to come from his den in the forest at night to sup on the fresh meat which they provide. The park is something of a game preserve, as hunting in it is forbidden. There are more than a hundred buffaloes in the park, and they are occasionally seen at the suggestion of the stage drivers by the more imaginative of the tourists. The beaver flourishes in the water and the bear, moose, elk, antelope, panther and other animals in the woods. The spectacle of Old Faithful by moonlight—and a wonderful sight it was—and the boiling of some eggs as souvenirs in one of the hot springs, completed the day's program.

Surely a greater variety of the terrible, the beautiful, the wonderful and the curious was never elsewhere crowded into so small a space as in the upper geyser basin of the Yellowstone. Here we have something really uncanny and satisfying. We are fairly in touch with the center of the earth at last.

SATANIC SUGGESTIONS OF THE YELLOWSTONE.

Those who have furnished nomenclature to Yellowstone Park have recognized his satanic majesty as a dominant spirit within its borders. Near the entrance to the park stands the Devil's Slide. His kitchen, his frying pan and his well, which are met in succession, indicate that he is quite at home here. At Hot Springs the "Devil's Thumb" is visible and conspicuous. The site of the largest geyser is called "Hell's Half Acre," and the whole region is formally turned over to infernal possession by its designation as "Coulter's Hell," the name first given to the park. In its sulphurous fumes, its diabolic noises, its hissings, boilings and hollow rumblings, its hoodoo formations, its appearance of desolation and death, and in its pre-eminent claims to be the place where humanity is kept in hot water, it does possess some infernal characteristics. It is, however, a land of whiteness instead of blackness, and the devil, if he gives color to his park, is evidently not so black as he is painted.

There are some indications that his satanic majesty has impressed himself not only upon the names and surface of the park, but that his influence is felt in the moral atmosphere. At any rate the tourist is apt to be seized, I am told, on first entering this uncanny region, with an irresistible desire to lie like sixty about wonders that have been visible to him and not to his companions, and to steal all the specimens that he can lay hands upon. It is certain, in spite of posted warnings and threats, the awful menace of the might of the United States army and the absence of authoritative notice of any suspension of the eighth commandment in the park, that deacons and Sunday-school teachers, old and young, male and female, of probity and piety at home, slink through the park with pockets and specimen bags illegally stuffed, uneasy in conscience and fearful of detection, but gloating over their pilfered treasures with an unholy joy that is fearful to contemplate. The desperate specimen thief gets about as much real enjoyment from the park as the

confirmed kodak fiend. In most cases he takes an unnecessary load upon his conscience. While the rule against removing specimens is sweeping, practically it is only the breaking of the formation, and especially of such as is beautiful and conspicuous, that is harshly considered and treated. Nearly all of the supposed treasures concealed by the specimen seeker are of no consequence in the eyes of the soldier on guard. In spite of the fact that the humiliation of expulsion from the park is the only punishment which the authorities are able to inflict upon the detected specimen thief, there is comparatively little of the worst sort of vandalism practiced now. The most prominent and beautiful of the formations are reasonably well guarded, though they bear in many places traces of the period of unprotection, when the hammer was freely applied to them with disastrous effect. Great pieces have been chopped as with an axe from the crater formations of some of the conspicuous geysers of the upper basin. Where such inroads have been made by vandals upon this hard deposit the mutilation of the more delicate formations may be imagined.

In leaving the upper geyser basin we abandoned the richest treasures of specimens and the most vigilant soldier-policemen, for we

HEADED FOR THE CANON,

and its attractions are inaccessible and immovable, even for the great American vandal. We arrived at the canon in the afternoon and, according to the regular schedule, were to leave the next morning. Those who stay at this point only the scheduled period will save time by leaving their vehicles where the road approaches nearest to the upper fall of the Yellowstone, permitting the vehicles to go on with the baggage to the hotel. Then after a view of the upper fall a short walk brings them to the brink of the lower fall. Views of the canon from Inspiration Point and Point Lookout may be had later in the afternoon or early the next

morning before the starting of the caravan for Mammoth Hot Springs.

The view from the brink of the lower fall is both impressive and disappointing. The spectacle of the river, narrowed to one-third its width, foaming and thundering over the rocks here to its fall of 360 feet, and of the vast crag-lined cleft into which it leaps, quickens one's breathing and causes one to hold tightly with a feeling of physical insignificance to the overhanging wooden platform upon which he stands. But from this point of view the coloring of the canon walls is not so vivid as the imagination has pictured it. From Inspiration Point, however, the expected colors are seen as brilliant as in Moran's paintings, but far more delicate and more beautifully blended. The trip along the canon's edge to Point Lookout and Inspiration Point is made most conveniently on horseback, unless the visitor is a good walker. From Point Lookout and a great red rock down the side of the canon and under this Point, to which one can with an effort scramble, the best view of the lower fall is had.

THE SCENE AT INSPIRATION POINT.

Inspiration Point is three miles from the hotel. The canon seen from this point shares with Niagara and the Yosemite the merit of surpassing the most gushing descriptions. The scene may be suggested, but not described or pictured. The canon is here about a thousand feet deep. Looking up it toward the falls the most impressive view is secured. Turreted projections from the canon wall obstruct the view of the fall, so that only the white band of its eastern edge is visible below the green of the distant wooded mountain tops which form the remote background of the picture. The east wall of the canon is of precipitous rock, more subdued in coloring than the other side. Its greenish yellows, browns and reds are comparatively sober. The west wall is easier in its slope. Down its surface extend great slides, where undermining springs have issued, and

jutting out from it and extending in places from the very brink of the canon to the water's edge are pinnacled ridges of rock rising occasionally to the height and appearance of castle ruins. The most brilliant and varied colors are seen in the slides, and the morning sun develops them most vividly. One of the slides on the west side near Inspiration Point is especially rich in coloring. First, pushing down the slope of the wall from the canon's brink, is the green of the pine trees ; then come masses of yellow gray, blue gray, old pink, cream, light terra cotta, delicate golden brown, lemon yellow, old rose, brilliant cream, white shading into cream yellow, vermillion and patches and streaks of delicate gray green, sky blue, lavender, moss green and Indian red in an occasional rock, until at the bottom the green and white of the foaming river are reached. The water as it falls, and as it twists and curves between and beats against its rocky walls, now broadening, now contracting, sends up to the ear a murmur that closer at hand becomes a roar. Looking down the canon from Inspiration Point the walls are less precipitous and seem not to be so high as on the other side. Pine trees extend in places nearly to the water's edge, so that green is a predominating color, and the river stretches out for a long distance before the eye like a twisted green and white ribbon. The steam arising from springs and small geysers in the canon walls suggests the cause of the vivid coloring. Hot water from the earth's center with its chemical deposits has painted here on a grand scale the decorations which on the borders of the springs and geyser craters it has painted on a small scale.

When means of conveniently reaching the bottom of the canon have been provided, as they surely will very soon, a new springs region will be open to public exploration and enjoyment. The tourist can then feel and tread upon the miles of brilliant surface, and scald himself in the springs and little geysers that are seen from the canon's brink steaming far below.

Near Inspiration Point there is a great granite boulder, which, with a few others of like formation scattered through this region, indicates that the park, not to lack any natural wonder, at one time boasted a mighty glacier, which has joined with water, wind and frost to carve the marvelous sculpturing of the canon's walls.

The canon is the last great show of the park, and according to the popular verdict it is the greatest.

At this point we left the vehicle in which we had started from the springs and it went on without us in accordance with its regular schedule. We found it impossible to see even hastily and superficially the marvels of the canon in the few hours of daylight which the stage schedule assigned to this place, so we remained an extra day and came on by next day's caravan.

We arrived at the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel late in the afternoon and were compelled to remain there until the next afternoon.

KILLING TIME.

The principal occupation of the tourists during this interval was the swapping of geyser stories (which are several sizes larger than fish stories), objurgating the eccentricities of the transportation schedule, and advising the incoming travelers of the strong points of the park. The young lady, for instance, who missed the eruption of the Giant geyser by frivolously flirting away her time in the vicinity of the spring called "Solitary," waxed enthusiastic: "Oh, the park is just charming. You see the cunningest little beavers at the lower basin and feed a real bear at the upper basin, and you can ride on a pony at the canon that is too cute for anything!"

Then and there the returned specimen collector inflamed the desires of the newcomer with secret views of her acquisitions and gave advice in roguery: "Don't be afraid of the soldiers and drivers. Why, don't you know one soldier who caught me with a handkerchief full of pieces of the loveliest

colored petrified wood (the colors rubbed off afterward) said that we might have all we wanted of that, only not to break the formation, and a driver that I had been hiding my specimens from actually pointed out the most beautiful pink formation in a spring and said to me: 'See those specimens in that spring, Miss! They are soft and break off easily. And another thing, the water is cold and won't burn your hand.' And then he turned his back on me and showed the rest of the party another spring for full two minutes. Now, could you expect anything nicer than that?"

In a corner of the hotel office a little group of male vandals collected and one of the number in husky, mysterious tones broached the great Liberty Cap conspiracy. "You see," he said, "if you are caught stealing specimens, no matter how rare and valuable, all the soldier can do is to take the specimens from you and put you out of the park. The soldier, of course, can't put the broken formation back again, and I know because I've tried it, that if you go about it in the right way you can get the soldiers to let you have these confiscated specimens. Now, what's the matter with taking a hammer and ladder to-night, some of you fellows, and breaking the peak off of Liberty Cap? If you don't get caught you have a prize, and if you do get caught you're all right, anyway, for you've been all through the park and are ready to be sent out, and I'll get the specimen from the soldier and divide with you. What d'yer say?"

GENERAL IMPRESSIONS.

The characteristic and unsurpassable features of the park are the geysers, and the brilliant work of hot water as a decorator, whether displayed in canon or spring deposits.

It has mountain views, but the grand scenery is confined to a few portions of the park.

It makes a great display of water in cataract as well as in geyser, in the majesty of falling as well as rising, but its waterfalls are far surpassed in height by Yosemite and in volume by Niagara.

It has a wonderful canon, but it is far from being so deep and precipitous as either the Yosemite, Colorado or Arkansas. There are other lakes more wonderful and beautiful than the Yellowstone. There are more interesting petrified trees than those of the park, as in the chalcedony forests of Arizona. There are erosions more fantastic in shape than the Hoodoos in the Garden of the Gods and Mineral Park, Colorado.

But in no single region is there so great a variety of attractions Nowhere else in the world are there great geysers so numerous, so ancient and so remarkable in deposits. And nowhere else is there so varied and vivid a display of natural colors, whether in connection with the springs and geysers or in the decoration which gives to the canon walls their wonderful beauty and distinguishes them from all other cliffs.

Toward the Pole.

IN A WEIRD LAND, WHERE THE SUMMER SUN NEVER SETS.

CLIMBING NORTH CAPE.

Norway's Scenery—Glaciers and Snow-Capped Mountains—The World's Most Northern Town and Cathedral—The Gulf Stream in Arctic Waters—Relics of the Vikings.

From the Washington Evening Star, October 31, 1891.

[Staff Correspondence of The Evening Star.]

In travel, as in all things else, the American delights to rush to extremes. He soon traverses the globe's most frequented paths and sighs for fresh worlds to hurry over. He yearns to see equatorial Africa like Stanley or Greenland's icy mountains like Peary, and his ambition might be temporarily gratified if he could only climb the pole. But the spirit of adventure in the average American is modified by his desire to accomplish his explorations quickly and comfortably. He has the ancient Athenian longing for "some new thing," but he does not yearn particularly for the halo of scientific martyrdom. He would prefer to do Africa with Jules Verne in a delightful tour of "Five Weeks in a Balloon" rather than fight and starve with Stanley. Instead of cutting through Arctic ice with polar explorers, fortified against freezing and sustained for hard labor by a regular diet of plain blubber, varied by an occasional tallow candle or a ragout of old shoes, he prefers to follow the Gulf stream to the North Cape of Norway and to do his polar exploration in all the comforts of a modern tourist steamer.

These facts and tendencies being remembered, it is easy to understand how it happened that Americans constituted the bulk of the passengers on the Neptun, which steamed on July 10, from Bergen, Norway, for the North Cape. With the daring band of fellow polar explorers collected on this steamer I penetrated far into the Arctic zone—without sacrificing in the least the conveniences of civilized life.

TOWARD THE POLE.

Our starting point was several degrees farther north than Sitka in Alaska, north of Labrador, in line with the southernmost point of Greenland, and within a week we traveled northeast along the Norway coast for a thousand miles, past the Arctic circle, far past Iceland, past the latitudes of a large majority of the international circumpolar stations, past the farthest northern points reached by some of the early explorers, and in steaming out into the sea beyond North Cape to round that point we reached the latitude where, north of Arctic Alaska, the Jeannette was frozen in the ice in September, 1879, a few degrees south of the point where that vessel was crushed, and we approached close to the latitude of the place west of Greenland where Peary recently snapped the bone of his leg as his steamer forced its way through the ice. We followed the west coast of Norway as Peary followed the west coast of Greenland. But he traversed waters filled with countless icebergs when not frozen in solid pack, and skirted a barren, forbidding land, covered by an eternal ice-cap. We sailed over waters that are always free from ice, past towns and fjords or bays with peopled shores, as well as the grand scenery of hospitable Norway.

FOLLOWING THE GULF STREAM.

The Gulf stream renders possible polar travel of this kind. Crossing from our shores it bathes the west coast of Norway, and the fjords fully subjected to its genial influence never freeze, though in latitudes which, on our coast, disclose bays

locked in ice for most of the year. The temperature here is warmer by twenty degrees than in other localities in the same degrees of latitude. When the great scheme is perfected of cutting through Bering straits our Pacific current which corresponds to the gulf stream will not only vastly improve the climate of northern Alaska, but melt a way for us far up toward the pole. But until this comprehensive public improvement is effected by the future A. R. Shepherd of Alaska, we who take things easily must consent to follow the Norway coast into the Arctic region, satisfying the patriotic sentiment by the reflection that our America sends across to northern Europe the warm and vivifying current which renders this bleak shore inhabitable, causing these waters to become an Arctic thoroughfare and bestowing as an appropriate gift from the new world to the old healthful, wholesome and invigorating influences, physically as well as mentally and morally.

From picturesquely situated Bergen, with its curious and interesting fish market, we visited a series of coast towns, each with some characteristic attraction, including Trondjhem, with the most northern cathedral of the world, in which the Scandinavian kings are crowned, a building full of interest to the antiquarian, the architect and student of history, and Hammerfest, nearly up to the North Cape, " the most northern town of the world," with postal and telegraph facilities. The coast, which we followed, is a high plateau, sloping precipitously to the sea, descending gradually inland, deeply indented by a thousand bays or fjords and fringed by a succession of countless mountainous islands. The steamer passes between the islands and the precipitous shore, and varied island and mountain scenery, in irregular shapes, glaciers and snow-capped heights, is enjoyed from whichever side of the vessel the view is taken. These fjords, the most wonderful bays in the world, are deep, narrow crevices, deeper often than the ocean outside, in places more than three-fourths of a mile in depth, which run far inland to the very bases of the snow mountains whose tops we see, and

from them the vikings issued in days of old to prey upon our English forefathers, and to engraft themselves upon the English stock, not only by direct settlement, but also by founding Normandy and through the Norman conquest. They also incidentally founded Iceland and discovered America several centuries before Columbus. It would be nominally treasonable to the District called Columbia, and would certainly be treacherous to Chicago until after 1893, to minimize Columbus by dwelling upon Vinland and the early explorations of the Northmen, so I will touch upon this point but lightly. Ships which in shape retain the lines of the viking vessels sail along the coast of Norway to-day. Old vessels buried with their viking owners have been dug up along the coast. In Christiania two fine specimens of such remains are displayed, and a model of one of them is in our National Museum. They are the companion exhibits to our skeleton in armor whom Longfellow addresses.

WHERE THE SUMMER SUN NEVER SETS.

The most interesting and characteristic sight of Arctic travel is, of course, the midnight sun. It is visible north of the Arctic circle, 66 degrees 30 minutes. From the North Cape the full disk is seen from May 13 to July 31, for a longer time as the pole is approached, for a shorter time as the spectator nears the Arctic circle. But while the sun shines for the whole twenty-four hours it is not always seen. The country of fjords is a land of rains and clouds. The west coast of Norway is one of the rainiest places in the world. Over ninety inches of annual rainfall have been noted at some places. The people of Portland, Ore., which has a climate conducive to the health of ducks, are denominated "web-feet," for obvious reasons. The west coast Norwegians not only have web-feet, but a web growth between their fingers, and some of them, it is understood, have sprouted scales and rudimentary fins. Mist, fog and cloud often so obscure the sun in this region that tourists see little of the wonderful spectacle that they have traveled, perhaps, thous-

ands of miles to behold. We were fortunate, however. For three nights out of the five that we spent within the Arctic circle we saw the full sun at midnight and on the other two nights within a few minutes of midnight.

Can you imagine the curious sensations and experiences of a part of the globe which has no summer nights, no darkness even at midnight, where the electric lights in your state-room become a useless mockery, where sleep must be wooed behind curtained windows, no matter what the hour? In this strange land Edison and all other purveyors of artificial light are at a discount. Electric light, gas, candles, petroleum, whale oil—all furnish a light that fails in the presence of the blazing sun. The orb of day is here a tyrant and monopolist, and even the moon and stars have no hour in which to assert themselves.

THE MURDER OF WORDS.

What a blow at the vocabulary of the people this condition of affairs strikes! Whole classes of words are eliminated in an instant. How poverty-stricken the poet who is denied all allusions to "night, sable goddess!" with her "ebon throne," her "rayless majesty," and her "leaden scepter," who can paint no sunset, for whom no honest watchdog bays the moon, who knows no fire-fly, owl or bat or other creature of the night, who has no twilight in which, Walt Whitman-like, "to loafe with his soul," who sees no daybreak, hears no cock-crowing at dawn, no lark, "the herald of the morn," and never welcomes jocund day, as it stands "tiptoe on the misty mountain top!" And can there be any writers of Norwegian Shooting Stars in a land where no one can "make a night of it," where no vengeful wife can lurk in darkness to pounce upon her wretched husband, delayed at his club, and struggling in dim light with an unmanageable night key? What will the novelist, the dramatist, the tragedian do when "deeds of darkness" become impossible, and the words themselves are meaningless, when the burglar and midnight assassin are not to be conceived and utilized,

and there is no " witching time of night when churchyards yawn and hell itself breathes out contagion to this world " ?

LIGHT AND LIFE FROM THE SUN.

But, on the other hand, what opportunities and inducements for work and pleasure! What a turning of night into day in the literal sense! Isaiah's prophecy is fulfilled: " But it shall come to pass that at evening time it shall be light." The sun refrains from setting, as it did for Joshua, and light, which is life, full at any rate of vivifying influences, bestows blessings upon man and the soil. The sun does not stand still, as at Joshua's request, in order that destruction may be complete. Development, not death, is in the untimely rays of the Norwegian unsetting sun. Constant sunshine during the short season develops a crop in the thin soil which would otherwise be impossible. It is said that at Christiania, where the summer nights are very short, though the midnight sun is not visible, the barley ripens in exactly the same time that is required in southern France, continuous heat compensating for lack of intensity. So with the men, who might naturally be sun-worshipers, since they really live at high pressure only in this summer flood of sunlight, and hibernate, as it were, in the long darkness that is lighted only by the aurora. The tourist, the artist and the photographer find this a strange and enchanted land where they can see sights, sketch and photograph at any hour of the twenty-four. We visited some of the grandest scenes of the trip " at the dead of night," and several kodak instantaneous views were successfully taken by the light of the midnight sun.

The Neptun's first night within the Arctic circle will never be forgotten by any of the passengers. There were sufficient clouds in the sky to render it doubtful whether at 12 o'clock we should be able to see the full unobscured orb, but all cleared away from the horizon by midnight and a round, red sun shone upon us through a misty or smoky atmosphere and bathed the islands in the vicinity with soft, rich

light. Our cannon fired and band played. A sort of intoxication of excitement swept over the steamer. The soberest hurrahed and sang and the lighter-minded danced and drank with redoubled vigor and enthusiasm.

We saw the midnight sun to the best advantage at North Cape itself, 71° 10′. Early in the evening we steamed into the little bay to the east and south of the cape. Before supper the captain embarked us in row boats and set us ashore for the ascent. His plan was that we should climb to the top, see what was to be seen, and return to the steamer by 11 o'clock, viewing the midnight sun from the steamer's deck.

ON NORTH CAPE.

We toiled up a zigzag path, pulling ourselves up for a considerable part of the way by ropes fastened to iron supports. After the climb of nearly a thousand feet we followed a guiding wire for a long distance across a plateau to the precipitous northern edge of the cape, from which we looked out across the open polar sea toward Spitzbergen and the pole. We hung over the very edge of this volcanic mountain, and looked down its bleak, jagged, deeply cleft walls of dark gray slate to the sea beneath. Visitors from the ship were scattered over the summit as inclination led them, some collecting geological specimens and flowers, some throwing stones over the precipice into the ocean, some exploring all the corners of the plateau, with the varied views of ocean, rocky surface and snow deposits, some drinking the champagne which was the sole article in the stock of an enterprising vendor, who occupied a wooden structure on the summit, some sketching, some gazing dreamily out upon the mysterious expanse of the Arctic ocean and endeavoring to realize that they were within a few day's steaming distance of the pole, and some were collected in groups engaged as conspirators in organizing the great Neptun

NORTH CAPE STRIKE.

For when the time arrived at which the summit must be left to enable the return to the steamer to be made by 11

o'clock as planned by the captain the American passengers revolted. They had come several thousand miles to be on North Cape at midnight, they intended to remain there, the captain to the contrary notwithstanding, and they did. A few of the more timid passengers, with the fear of the captain or a longing for supper impelling them, returned seasonably to the steamer and reported the mutiny, but the majority of the passengers enjoyed on North Cape the brightest midnight of which it is possible to conceive. There was absolutely nothing to suggest the night. On other evenings we saw the midnight sun in varied phases, at times nearly down to the horizon, and with the atmosphere in such cloudy or misty condition that the orb presented the angry blood-red appearance which some of the poets attribute to the midnight sun, and there was that weird duskiness in the air which suggested an eclipse or the fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy of the time when "the light shall be neither clear nor dark." But there was no ambiguity about the sun on the night of July 17, as seen from North Cape. The sky was cloudless and clear and the sun shone bright and dazzling as on a summer afternoon in our latitude. There was nothing whatever strange or uncanny in its light. The barren and desolate scenery, and appreciation of the lonesome isolation of the situation in this Arctic latitude, gave one the sensation of being an uncomfortably long way from home, but the sun himself was the familiar Washington 5 o'clock luminary. As midnight approached the Neptun passengers, and the passengers from another steamer which had anchored in the bay, gathered near the northernmost edge of the cape. A number of our German friends testified to the thrilling character of the occasion by collecting around the granite monument erected on the summit in honor of King Oscar's visit in 1873, and drinking countless bottles of beer, which they had brought with them, which, in fact, accompanied them in every visit to a wonder of nature on the trip—the more extraordinary the sight, the

more beer consumed. They drank and sang and placed empty bottles on the top of Oscar's monument and playfully smashed them. And so the midnight found this group. The English flocked by themselves and at the stroke of 12 sang with great solemnity "God Save the Queen." The Americans were here, there and everywhere. Some of them marked the midnight hour by taking kodak snap shots at their friends and the summit scenery. There was a difference in time between the watches of the passengers of the two steamers, and the time according to the champagne seller on top differed from both. So in order to be sure that we had seen the midnight sun on North Cape we stayed until all the watches had passed the hour of 12, and until the sun was evidently rising in the heavens, and then we retraced our steps.

North Cape is not like Avernus. The descent is not easy; that is, not easy to most people. A very few found it so, who discovered a ravine filled with hard snow, stretching nearly from top to bottom of the mountain, and who converted it into an impromptu toboggan slide, minus the toboggan. The expert slid on their heels, making kangaroo jumps when necessary to preserve their balance. The inexpert spent most of the period of descent on their hands and knees or in a position damaging to the seat of the trousers. "Come down fast? I should say I did," replied one of the latter, backing away from his feminine questioner to welcome obscurity and the ministrations of needle and thread. "It beats sliding down splintery bannisters all to pieces."

Returning to the steamer we found the captain in a conciliatory mood, fortified ourselves with something to eat, kodaked the North Cape between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning, and caught cod and haddock from the Arctic ocean for the remainder of the sunny night.

Arctic Scenes.

POLAR WHALES AND SEA FOWL AND COWS THAT EAT RAW FISH.

A SWITZERLAND IN THE SEA.

The Fraudulent Maelstrom—Lapps and Reindeer—Second Largest Glacier in Europe—Sights of a Posting Tour Through Central Norway—European Preparations for War.

From the Washington Evening Star, November 7, 1891.

[Staff Correspondence of THE EVENING STAR.]

The midnight sun in connection with the famous maelstrom off the Norway coast has caused this region to be credited with classic visitors. Jonas Ramus, who was a pastor at Christiania in 1715, published a book in which he calls attention to the references in Pliny and Plutarch to Greeks who lived in the north, where the sun was visible for thirty days together. Ramus identifies the maelstrom with Scylla and Charybdis and concludes that these northern Greeks were the descendants of Ulysses and his sailors, who, after escaping the maelstrom, lived in western Norway. I am not prepared to say that the experiences of Ulysses with the maelstrom did not give rise to the story of Scylla and Charybdis, but I am prepared to affirm that, if such was the case, Ulysses gave free vent to his imagination in the description of his peril, and that the bow of Ulysses, which only he could fully bend, was a monstrous long-bow, of the kind drawn competitively by travelers of the Munchausen variety.

For there never was a greater fraud than this terrible maelstrom. One of the most impressive, to me, of childhood's stories was that of the adventurous Johnny Wanderer. I remember vividly how Johnny, who was continually driven to fresh money-getting travels by the insatiable ambition of his wife for new bonnets, was returning to civilization from the north pole when he found that his ship refused to obey its rudder ; that it swept round and round in circles miles in circumference, gradually decreasing in size, and the frightened mariners learned that they were in the clutches of the maelstrom. Then followed the quicker and quicker rush of the circling vessel, the roar of the funnel-shaped abyss, the cry of the doomed and the marvelous precipitation of Johnny—who invariably landed upon his feet, right side up with care, no matter what the emergency—upon a soft spot at the bottom of the maelstrom pit. I have an ineffaceable picture in mind of the undismayed Johnny as he walked on the bottom of the ocean at the end of the maelstrom funnel, seeing a small circle of clear sky far above like the distant end of a tunnel, with the circling waters as a wall on all sides of him and the bodies of his companions and the fragments of his ship whirling and chasing about him in a ghastly merry-go-round. I remember how the maelstrom well constantly shifted its position and kept Johnny moving and how this compulsory pedestrianism was not without its advantages, for Johnny in traveling over the ocean bed collected for the gratification of Mrs. Wanderer the choicest of the precious stones with which it was covered, and how when the maelstrom broke up, as it was accustomed periodically to do, Johnny was thrown to the surface, and, with his usual luck, escaped with his treasure. I now discover that there is no whirlpool, no conical abyss, with pit touching the ocean's bottom, or even starting in that direction—nothing in the world but a swift current which might, under certain conditions of

wind and tide, dash a vessel against the rocks, but could not suck under a row boat. The glory and the terror of the maelstrom have departed. My great whirlpool has gone to join Santa Claus, William Tell, George Washington's little hatchet and Johnny Wanderer, himself, in the realm set apart for children's realities that have ceased to be.

The Norwegian coast scenery has been aptly likened to that of

A SWITZERLAND IMMERSED IN THE SEA.

In the Lofoten Islands appear the serrated peaks, rarely seen on the mainland of Norway, which are conspicuous in the Alps. The mountain islands assume all sorts of curious shapes, affording ample room for exercise of the imagination in supplying them with names. One hat-shaped mountain, called Torghatten, is pierced high up by a huge natural tunnel, and through it the climbing tourist after a breathless scramble can see the ocean and its islands on the other side.

The mountains are not near so high as those of Switzerland, but when they rise, as is often the case, abruptly from the sea, their apparent height is very great, and the snow line is so low that white caps are frequent. Above the Arctic circle the scenery is desolate in the extreme and unique. There is little or no vegetation. The stunted cows are fed on raw fish and seaweed. They lead the same half-starved existence that is lived by the water-bloated skeleton cows sometimes seen in the St. John's river region, Florida, which sustain themselves after a fashion on weeds that they gather at the expense of a ducking from the bottom of the river and on the picturesque but innutritious moss which hangs from the trees. Birds collect by the hundred thousand on some of the Arctic rock islands, and when a cannon is fired from the passing steamer, becloud and whiten the air. The fjord scenery of Norway, in the Lyngenfjord and the Raftsund in the Lofoten islands, for example, equals in grandeur any other bay or lake scenery in the known world.

There is here a Swiss wealth of glaciers, though only one of size is visible and approachable from the water's edge. This is Svartisen, the

SECOND LARGEST GLACIER IN EUROPE

and one of the very few in the Arctic regions. The largest is also in Norway. We visited the spur of Svartisen, which approaches the water's edge by broad daylight between 1 and 4 o'clock in the morning. We picked near its edge a great variety of Alpine flowers and also unfamiliar forms of vegetation, which the botanists of the party said were not found in the Alps. We climbed out upon the glacier, sailors going ahead with axes and cutting rude steps for us, but we found the footing very insecure, and after some hair-breadth escapes returned. A part of our number took a boat ride on the pool formed at the glacier's foot by the milky stream issuing from it. This spur from Svartisen resembles somewhat the Glacier des Bossons in the Chamounix in size, angle of descent and purity of the ice. The body of the glacier lies on a high plateau, like a great ice cap, and is thirty-five miles long and ten miles wide.

WHERE THE WHALE LIVES AND DIES.

In addition to its striking scenery northern Norway possesses some objects and places which appeal powerfully to other senses than that of sight. It boasts magnificent views, excels in most northern towns and cathedrals, exhibits an unequaled show in the midnight sun and makes still another world-beating record by supplying in a whale-trying establishment which we visited at Ingo the most powerful smell that can assail the nostrils of man. It is of the kind that permeates you and permanently abides by you. We saw many vigorous specimens of the living whale on our trip, as we traversed part of the hunting grounds of this huge and powerful fish, but we learned at Ingo that the whale is far stronger in death than in life. Before landing at the trying establishment, which is north of Hammerfest and not

far from the North Cape, we were warned by the captain that we might need cologne, but we were not at all prepared for the overpowering stench which greeted us as we approached the shore. All the vile smells of the college laboratory became as perfumes of Araby in comparison. Great decomposing carcasses floated in the water, and one huge fish recently captured was drawn up on the beach. Heaps of whale bone, whale fins, &c., were scattered about. Every particle of the fish, except the smell, is put to some good use. We would have taken photographs of the novel features of the scene, but our kodakist reports that the thick smell hanging over the place obscured the sun, preventing a snap-shot, and that nature revolted against the delay upon the spot which would be involved in a time exposure.

THE DIRTY LAPP AND HIS REINDEER.

We visited a Lapp encampment at Tromso. The school boy whose composition on the noble red man said "The Indian washes only once a year; I wish I was an Indian," should alter his wish and petition to be a Lapp, for there is no external evidence that the latter washes more than once a lifetime, and that at his birth when he is entirely defenseless. In the summer a camp of the wandering Lapps drive several hundred of their reindeer to a valley only a few miles from Tromso, and it was there that we saw them. They are huddled in dome-shaped huts of stone, turf and birch bark, full of smoke from a fire in the center of the hut, which finds an exit only through a hole in the top of the structure and through the door when it is opened. They have the yellowish complexion, high cheek bones and low forehead of the Mongolian race. They are short in stature, dirty, vermin-breeding and wretched. The reindeer is their support and treasure. The animal supplies them with milk, meat, clothes and transportation. Nearly everything that they need is made from some part of this useful animal. These particular Lapps earn something by the sale to summer tourists of the skin and articles made from the horns of

the reindeer. The nomadic Lapps and Finns of northern Norway and Sweden are comparatively few in number, miserable, semi-barbarous. But the Finns in Russian Finland, whom we saw afterward on our way from Stockholm to St. Petersburg, are a very different sort of people, settled traders and fishermen, with well-built cities of considerable size, like Helsingfors.

PREPARING FOR THE WAR DANCE.

At Bodo, returning from the North Cape, we met the Emperor William of Germany in his yacht on his way to the cape, where, by the way, he did not see the midnight sun, the weather having no respect for royalty. The little Norwegian town and the vessels with which the harbor was crowded were gay with bunting. We ran up all of our own flags, fired off our four small but loud-mouthed cannon, and our band began to play and our German passengers to sing "The Watch on the Rhine." As we came near the royal yacht the emperor appeared on deck and responded to our cannon, music and shouting by a military salute, whereupon he was promptly kodaked by the disrespectful American amateur photographers. On the day that we left London for the North Cape trip William arrived in that city, and we had the full benefit of the extensive preparations made by the Londoners for his visit. We saw the counter pictures to these glimpses of Germany's demonstrations in England and Norway at Cronstadt, where we found the formidable gray men-of-war of the French fleet sociably nestled up to St. Petersburg's threatening fortifications; again at Peterhoff, Alexander's summer palace and park, which, with its beautiful fountains, was on the czar's day gorgeously illuminated (in addition to the customary display of fireworks) in honor of the French admiral, with whom the czar drove at midnight through an enthusiastic crowd of a hundred thousand Russians shouting "Live Russia! live France! live the czar!"; and again at Moscow, whose people lined the street which led to Sparrow Hill, where the

French visitors dined, and who hurrahed themselves hoarse in honor of France. Russian Alexis in Paris may have avoided the tell-tale demonstrations of the French crowds, as reported, but no restraints were placed either upon the people or the visitors in Russia. I drove to Sparrow Hill while the French were dining there. This is the fine view point of Moscow, the hill from which Napoleon caught with intense joy and relief the first glimpse of the city, and to which he retreated from the burning capital. On this eminence, so filled with painful historic associations for both nations, the Russians and French were now drinking to eternal good fellowship and national amity. A Russian officer, a near relative of an official in the Russian legation at Washington, said to me here: "We like only the Americans and French. We dislike the English, from whom we are separated by political differences, and we *hate* the Germans." Germany, through William, makes advances to England and Norway. France, through her admiral, is effusively welcomed in Russia. The nations are taking partners in the game of European war soon about to begin.

"POSTING" THROUGH NORWAY.

We retraced our steamer course from Bergen to the North Cape only as far as Throndjhem where we took train to Storen, and from this point to Lillehammer we drove for 200 miles by carriage through central Norway over the regular posting route, crossing the Dovrefjeld, a mountain plateau, and then following the Gudbrandsdal, the valley of the Laagen river. We did not approach closely any of the lofty snow-clad mountains, seeing only Snehatten, and that at a distance.

The scenery was not in any respect so grand as that among the highest Swiss snow mountains, where excellent roads admit the traveler to the very richest of the scenic treasures. But there was magnificent ravine scenery, like that of the Martigny side of the Tete Noir pass, in the Driva valley, and the gorge of Rusten, and the people themselves fur-

nished an interesting study. Extensive and attractive valley views successively opened before us as we followed for miles streams rushing through gorges in a succession of rapids, sometimes descending in cataracts, with cliffs often rising abruptly on each side. In the Driva valley in a space of ten miles we counted twenty-three waterfalls dashing down the precipitous mountain side into the rapid stream. We were near enough to the land of the midnight sun so that there was hardly any night and we could learn the effect of almost constant daylight on land as well as at sea. As we drove in the bracing, exhilarating air over the smooth hard roads, guarded on the precipitous side by a row of perpendicular slabs of slate like a series of gravestones, we enjoyed many characteristic sights of the country. Here is seen a woman with a huge basket at her back and knitting in hand, hard at work with her needles as she walks along the road. Here a small boy holds out to be kodaked a monstrous old-fashioned key, in active use in his father's barn, of which his extended arm can scarcely sustain the weight. Here are a few men and many women in a field arranging hay on the curious racks upon which in this rainy short-seasoned country it is hung out to dry Behind them is a river whose light green waters move swiftly and on whose surface is a boat containing peasants whose costumes show red and blue. In the remote background of the picture on the other side of the river rises a mountain, down whose side dashes a fine waterfall. Here is one of the sod-roofed houses of the country, with trees growing from the roof. Here is a curious old church, clumsy, slate-roofed, proudly pronounced the ugliest in the world.

All along the road are specimens of the national vehicle, the carriol, which corresponds to the Canadian caleche, the Irish jaunting car and the Russian droshky. It is a curiously shaped sulky, with a perch behind for light baggage and for a boy. The latter sits upon the baggage, drives if desired, and is changed with the horses at every station. These stations, which are from eight to fifteen miles apart,

sometimes furnish a bit of the picturesque in building or peasant costume, and almost always supply something curious in old furniture, old silver or wood-carvings. The people are cleanly, industrious, honest and very, very slow. A Norwegian mile is seven times as long as an English mile, and the Norwegians are seven times as long about everything else.

Though they retain a certain sturdy independence, which often renders them stiff-necked subjects in Norway and obstinate, unreliable voters in Minnesota and the Dakotas, they are quite a different people from their water-king ancestors, the ancient Northmen, from whom our English forefathers in the old litanies prayed to be delivered. In sad need of industrious sensible farmers of a kind who will devote themselves largely to the cultivation of the soil, and threatened with continued immigration of an objectionable sort from some other lands, the people of the Republic gladly welcome the coming of the Northmen, against whose abrupt and disturbing visits their ancestors petitioned for divine protection.

The National Capital

Newspaper Articles and Speeches Concerning the City of Washington

BY

THEODORE W. NOYES.

Washington, D. C.:
Byron S. Adams, Printer and Publisher.
1893.

Copy 3

Part II.

Some of Washington's Grievances.

A DOLEFUL CRY FROM THE PAST.

Washington's Woful Story—Ante-Natal Grievances—Attempts Upon Its Life—Harsh Treatment and Inadequate Support—The Nation's Ward Starved by Its Guardian.

From the Washington Evening Star, February 18, 1888.

Modern cities, though they never yield to mere old age, are often said to be born, to grow to maturity, and to die like persons. They are similarly afflicted with the diseases of infancy. Many a promising young city succumbs to municipal colic, to the gripings of an unwise economy or "old fogy" stinginess, or to municipal fever, with its flush of apparent health and vigor, and its subsequent exhaustion when this fictitious strength has disappeared. It is the latter disease which fills mining regions with the cadavers of cities. After a brief and feverish existence their frames moulder unburied on the mountain sides, cold, inanimate, startling to the solitary traveler. Man's vicissitudes of fortune are not denied to cities. They are rich, poor, extravagant, industrious. Some are born "sucking a silver spoon," blessed in situation and natural resources. Others find life a series of difficulties, sometimes overcome by the indomitable energy which turns a bog into the firm foundation of dwellings, and views a vast destruction by fire as a mere clearing of the ground to make room for edifices handsomer than those destroyed. But more frequently early disadvantages and misfortunes overcome the prospective city, just as circumstances of birth and training often pervert or destroy the higher capacities of the thief's or pauper's offspring. Cities also display a diversity, almost human, in manner of

development. The mining town matures rapidly. The rumor of gold produces a maturity as precocious in cities as that developed by the heat of a tropical sun among persons. Other cities increase in strength slowly but surely. Their lives are long, and often in dying they leave to the world another city sprung from themselves, retaining the ancestral name. Thus it has been suggested, in substance, that Rome is the eternal city, because it is a series of Romes, each with a distinct existence. Death comes in as varied shapes to cities as to persons, and there is a like variety in the resistance offered. Mineral deposits fail, rich "finds" are made a hundred miles away, and a Leadville dies and goes to decay within a year. War, fire and pestilence wound but do not destroy the commercial city, which finds its mortal stroke in a change in the direction of the flow of trade.

Cities, then, in certain aspects of their material development and decay resemble persons. If the analogy might be carried further, and human emotions be ascribed to personified cities, Washington, finding a tongue, could give utterance to a woful autobiography.

ANTE-NATAL GRIEVANCES.

This recital of grievances would find a beginning in events which occurred previous to the city's birth. While, ordinarily, neither individuals nor municipal corporations can complain of ill-treatment at a time when they had no existence, the capital on the Potomac may perhaps be excused for indulging in a feeble, preliminary wail over the difficulties which it experienced in being born at all. And this privilege should be granted the more readily in view of the fact that many subsequent evils can be traced to their sources in events of the ante-natal period.

The location of the national capital was a subject of contention between North and South and between several different states of these sections. The claimants of the honor of providing the permanent seat of government were made unyielding in their demands by state pride and state

jealousy, and sectional animosities added to the bitterness of the controversy. The subject was a fruitful source of wrangling in the Congress assembled under the articles of confederation. This body met in some one of half a dozen different places, according as convenience suggested or necessity compelled, and from time to time it named a permanent location, only to reverse its decision when the subject was next discussed. The proposed site on the Potomac, supported by many southern members, was rejected more than once. In 1783 a location on the Delaware was preferred to one on the Potomac, and in 1784 a commission was appointed to select a site upon the former river. This selection was not made, however, and the contention was bequeathed to the first Congress meeting under the Constitution. The wrangle soon became more heated than ever before. The claims of Philadelphia, Germantown, Havre de Grace, Wright's Ferry, on the Susquehanna, and a location on the Potomac were most strongly urged. On September 5, 1789, the House, by a vote of 31 to 19, passed a resolution fixing the permanent seat of government on the Susquehanna, an action which aroused the bitterest feelings among the Southern members and caused Mr. Madison to affirm his belief that if a prophet had started up in the Virginia convention and foretold the proceeding, Virginia would not have been a party to the Constitution. The Senate inserted Germantown, instead of a site on the Susquehanna, as the seat of government. The House coincided in the amendment, and the Capitol would perhaps be now standing in Germantown had not an amendment, affecting the location in no respect, carried the bill back to the Senate, where it failed to receive consideration during the remainder of the session. In the next year this phase of the wrangle was ended. The persistency of Mr. Madison and other Southern members carried the day, but a bargain was necessary to secure the required votes. The bill for the assumption of the state debts by the national government, which was also originally supported by a minority, was passed in conjunc-

tion with a bill to locate the capital on the Potomac by a "log-rolling" arrangement between Hamilton and Jefferson. In July, 1790, the House, by a vote of 32 to 29, and the Senate, by a vote of 14 to 12, decided in favor of the Potomac. After ten years of preparation for the event, during which period a site was selected by President Washington, a board of commissioners contended against obstinacy and avarice in some of the original proprietors of the soil, and work on several public buildings was begun, Washington as the national capital came into being. From its cradle it was surrounded by enemies eager for its life. President Washington was taunted with sordid motives in causing the capital to be placed near his estates on the Potomac. The bargain by which the question was settled was denounced as fraudulent and corrupt, and each disappointed and incensed claimant of the capital prize in this legislative lottery awaited a chance to gratify revenge and to test the fortune of a new drawing by strangling the successful competitor.

The first grievance, then, of Washington—the city controlled exclusively by Congress, the ward of the nation—is that from its tenderest years its nerves have been unstrung, its growth retarded, and its constitution undermined by a well-founded terror, due to

THE ATTEMPTS UPON ITS LIFE

and the threats of sudden and violent destruction made from time to time by its guardian. Like the hero of "Great Expectations," the capital was brought up "by hand," and its guardian was forever "on the rampage." From the day in 1800 when the archives of government were brought from Philadelphia in "seven large boxes and four or five smaller ones," and an army of fifty-four office-holders swelled the population of the city, there have been periodical attempts to remove the seat of government, and such removal would have meant, of course, the death of Washington. An Englishman named Weld, who visited the future capital in 1796, says: "Notwithstanding all that has been done at the

city and the large sums of money which have been expended, there are numbers of people in the United States living to the north of the Potomac, particularly in Philadelphia, who are still very adverse to the removal of the seat of Government thither, and are doing all in their power to check the progress of the buildings in the city, and to prevent the Congress from meeting there at the appointed time." Those who had thus opposed the removal to Washington were the same who now endeavored to effect a second removal, and who, as part of their policy, sought to keep the city in a condition which would serve as an argument in favor of the change. As a sample of the attacks upon the infant capital, hear a new "Crito," in his "Letters on the Seat of Government," published in 1807 : "In the meantime, be it known to the good people of the Union, from New Hampshire to Georgia (for I may presume, without fear of contradiction, that ninety-nine hundredths of the youth of the United States grow up to manhood without ever having seen the capital of their country), that the national bantling called the City of Washington remains, after ten years of expensive fostering, a rickety infant, unable to go alone. Nature will not be forced. A sickly child cannot be dressed and dandled into a healthy constitution. This embryo of the state will always be a disappointment to its parents, a discredit to the fond opinions of its worthy god-fathers and god-mothers, and an eyesore to all its relations to the remotest degree of consanguinity." Crito's advice, in conclusion, is to remove the seat of government to Philadelphia, "the very focus of foreign and domestic intelligence." Crito's method of using as an argument in favor of death the sickly condition of the nation's "bantling," caused by

HARSH TREATMENT AND INADEQUATE SUPPORT

on the part of its constitutional protectors, seems to have been popular. To neglect the infant, to threaten it constantly with destruction, and then to urge its consequent feebleness as a reason for killing it outright, was a favorite

policy with its enemies. After the capture and partial burning of the city by the British in 1814, a misfortune caused mainly by the failure of the government, in spite of remonstrance, to provide it with adequate defenses, a vigorous attempt was made by Americans to complete the work of destruction begun by the British. In the course of the debate at that time upon the expediency of removing the seat of government, Representative Lewis of Virginia complained that for the last ten or twelve years similar attempts had been made, the effect of which was to create alarm and paralyze improvement to the great injury of the public. He pointed out that hundreds and thousands of individuals had been induced from a perfect confidence in the permanency of the seat of government to expend their all in its improvement, who would be reduced to beggary and want by a removal. A committee to whom the subject was referred reported a resolution, "That it is inexpedient to remove the seat of Government at this time from Washington city." A motion to strike out "inexpedient" and insert "expedient," after a tie vote of 68 to 68, was decided in the affirmative by the speaker. The report, as amended, was referred to the committee of the whole house and was passed after debate by a vote of 72 to 71. When the bill was reported to the House, Philadelphia was inserted as the future capital, and in the end, on the question of engrossing the bill for a third reading, it was lost by a vote of 83 to 74. This account of one of the alarming movements which frightened the young capital out of many a year's growth, may serve as a suggestion of those which followed. If the stale allusion to the experience of Damocles is ever justifiable, this is the occasion, for the city, in very truth, lived and grew with a threatening sword suspended over its head. The latest assault of vigor by capital-movers was that made in 1869 in favor of St. Louis, by L. U. Reavis and others outside of Congress, and by some Western Senators and Representatives within Congress. In reply to the question, "When will the removal be effected?" Reavis says in his book: "I unhesitatingly answer

that the change will be made within five years from Jan. 1, 1869, * * * and before 1875 the President of the United States will deliver his message at the new seat of Government in the Mississippi Valley." The capital has not been moved, and will not be moved, except as the result of some extraordinary political convulsion; but this conviction is the growth of recent years, and the mischief done by the constant agitation of the subject in the past can hardly be estimated.

Though the first of Washington's grievances is the animosity of many among those who should have been the city's protectors,

THE INDIFFERENCE OF OTHERS NOT ACTIVELY HOSTILE,

has been an evil of hardly less magnitude. Under the Constitution Congress has power of exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia. It is a tract of national territory to be governed by the representatives of the whole people. Its interests are entitled to the thoughtful consideration of every one of its constitutionally appointed legislators. Unfortunately they have not received, and do not receive, this consideration. In the House discussion of 1871 upon the bill to provide a territorial form of government for the District, one of the members of the District committee said that within two years parts of only nine afternoons had been spent in legislation for the capital. The improvement in this respect since that date has not been startling. The announcement that a short time is to be devoted by Congress to District affairs is looked upon by many legislators as an invitation to be absent. Others remain long enough to show that they view their presence and attention as a personal favor to citizens of the District, and not as a part of their Congressional duty. Those Congressmen who consider that the main purpose of their terms is to arm themselves for a re-election are of course bored or disgusted with petty and uninteresting District affairs. Discussion concerning such affairs furnishes nothing to be quoted in the home

papers for their constituents' benefit and their own glory. Even of those who interest themselves in the District a considerable proportion endeavor to utilize it as a field of experiment for their political or other hobbies, the practical application of which they would not, in many instances, dare to attempt at home, where there are voters to make their resentment felt in case the experiment should prove hurtful. But the District is the apothecary's cat, to be dosed experimentally with each dubious compound before it can safely be offered to the public.

The capital could hardly have anticipated such discouraging treatment. The early standard of duty set for Congress in the matter of its management of the District was not a low one. In 1803 Representative Bacon made a formidable estimate of the expense and loss of time to the nation, increasing with the growth of the District, which would be involved in the assumption by Congress of the power of exclusive legislation. "Should justice," he said, "be done to the exercise of this power, it was likely that as much time would be spent in legislating for this District as for the whole United States." It is hardly necessary to say that increasing population has not secured a proportionate increase in the Congressional time devoted to District affairs, and, in view of the facts, the very suggestion that the capital's legislature should give one-half its thoughts to the capital's interests seems ridiculous.

An unfitness for the performance of the duties assigned it has often been urged as part either of

THE ACCUSATION OR CONFESSION OF CONGRESSIONAL INDIFFERENCE

in respect to Washington. In 1803 Representative Randolph remarked in the course of debate that Congress was incompetent to legislate for the District, adding "It was well known that the indolence of other members [than the District committee] or their indifference, inseparable from the situation in which they were placed, would prevent Congress

from legislating with a full understanding of the objects before them." Congress for a long time not only accepted the idea of its incapacity to govern the people of the District, but apparently forgot that it had any responsibilities whatever in respect to the capital city. The excuse of unfitness for failure to furnish the general legislation necessary for the welfare of the residents of the District does not have even a tendency to relieve Congress from the blame which attaches to its neglect to carry out the original plan and implied agreement to build up a magnificent capital on the Potomac. It could, at least, have appropriated the money required to meet its obligations, even if, in truth, it found itself incompetent to pass proper laws. But even when most liberal in the disbursement of the people's money, it had not a cent to expend in rendering the people's city attractive. The blaze of glory, which the mere presence of our national legislators casts upon their place of meeting was thought, perhaps, by members of Congress, to hide all defects in the appearance of the capital, and to amount to a satisfaction in full of their constitutional obligations toward the District. For years the national legislature permitted the capital entrusted to its keeping to be an object of derision and contempt to foreigner and citizen. More than that, it contributed by its own neglect to make more wretched the city's forlorn condition, and then joined in the laugh at the latter's expense.

Some of Washington's Grievances.

SLOW GROWTH OF THE NEGLECTED CAPITAL.

Early Descriptions of the City—Washington in Bankruptcy—Geese and Hogs on Massachusetts Avenue—The Flippant Dickens and Melancholy Trollope—Beauties of the New Washington.

From the Washington Evening Star, February 25, 1888.

Washington's two grievances—the one against its hostile, the other against its neglectful, guardians—operated together to its disadvantage. The miserable state of the city for three-fourths of a century, during which Congressional disfavor or indifference checked its growth, and the efforts of capital-movers shut out new settlers, and discouraged its residents from improving lands which might soon be made valueless, is attested by all descriptions. The child of the nation, neglected and nearly abandoned by its constitutional protectors, with appearance and health uncared for, insufficiently nourished, and in constant terror of death, did not, wonderful to relate, develop rapidly and vigorously. Between 1790 and 1800, the interval within which the efforts were made to prevent the seat of government from leaving Philadelphia, the private houses erected at Washington were few in number, being mostly empty structures, built as a speculation, or the rude huts of workmen on the President's House and the Capitol. In 1800 the small population was clustered, for the most part, in two settlements, the one called Hamburg, on observatory hill, the other called Carrollsburg, on James Creek, between the arsenal and the navy yard. The site of the city was covered in the main by marshes, pastures, dense woods, and some cultivated ground

where wheat, tobacco, and Indian corn were raised. The elevations were overgrown with shrub-oak bushes. There were only two houses on the line of Pensylvania avenue between the President's House and the Capitol. For much of its length this avenue was "a deep morass covered with alder bushes." Chas. W. Janson, an Englishman, said of the place in 1806: "Strangers after viewing the offices of state are apt to inquire for the city while they are in its very center. * * * Some half-starved cattle browsing among the bushes present a melancholy spectacle to a stranger. Quail and other birds are constantly shot within a hundred yards of the Capitol during the sitting of the houses of Congress." Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mrs. President Adams, complained of the scattered condition of the houses. On the same subject John Law, one of the most prominent of the early citizens of Washington, said: "A loose and disconnected population was scattered over the city, and instead of a flourishing town the stranger who visited us saw for years a number of detached villages, having no common interests, furnishing little mutual support, hardly sustaining a market, and divided by great public reservations." The discreditable capital thus described was the result of leaving a plan of magnificent intentions to be carried into execution by a population feeble in numbers and resources, and hampered by the hostility of some and by the indifference and neglect of a great majority of its legislators and constitutional protectors. The same conditions, being permitted to continue,

RETAINED THE CITY IN ITS PITIFUL PLIGHT

as the laughing-stock of visitors. In 1814, after the Secretary of War had sneered at the suggestion that the British might molest the "sheep walk," and after the national representatives more than Washington's would-be defenders had permitted the city to be captured, the following was its appearance: "Twelve or fifteen clusters of houses at a considerable distance from each other, bringing to our recollec-

tions the appearance of a camp of nomad Arabs, which, however, if connected together would make a very respectable town, not much inferior, perhaps, to the capital of Virginia, and here and there an insulated house; the whole of it, when seen from the ruins of our public edifices, looking more like the place where proud Washington once stood than where humble Washington now lies." The capital-moving project of 1814 was, as we have seen, a failure, but it was not without an effect in deterring intending settlers and in impoverishing those already in possession. D. B. Warden, in his "Description of the District of Columbia," published in 1816, says: "The value of lots has diminished on account of the project of Eastern members of Congress to transfer the seat of Government to some other place."

Lots were sold but slowly, even at the reduced prices, and the city extended its limits of settlement with proportionate slowness. In 1824 Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, being "sent to the country for his health," removed himself far from the bustle of the city to Clement Hill mansion, on the northwest corner of 14th street and Massachusetts avenue, a location now in the heart of one of the most valuable sections of the city.

WASHINGTON IN BANKRUPTCY.

While Congress neglected Washington, its residents were goaded by taunts at the capital of the nation into desperate efforts to perform the task intended to be performed by the government, but left undone. Sums beyond their resources were spent upon the improvement of the streets, in erecting city buildings, and in the endeavor to give the capital a commercial footing by digging the Chesapeake and Ohio canal; but the effort was beyond their unassisted strength, and the relief of Congress was sought. Senator Southard, in 1835, reported that the debt of the city reached "the enormous sum of $1,806,442.59;" that it had no means from which it could apply at that time a single dollar to the discharge of its obligations; that owing to its

debts in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, foreign bankers would in all probability become the owners of a great proportion of the property within the capital of the Union; that the city authorities had been misled into expenditures which did not properly belong to them, although the views by which they were governed were of a liberal and public-spirited character, and that nothing was found in the conduct of the inhabitants or the authorities to excite in Congress a reluctance to come to their relief. Aid was accordingly granted the bankrupt city, but the recommendation, made by Senator Southard, after an exhaustive consideration of the relations between the nation and its capital, that the government should pay regularly a proportion of District expenses, was disregarded, and the city, though rescued from foreign bankers, was permitted to remain a national disgrace. In 1839 George Combe, the British traveler, described the city as "like a large straggling village reared in a drained swamp."

MASSACHUSSETTS AVENUE ABANDONED TO HOGS.

By the corporation laws of that period geese and hogs were prohibited from running at large "south of Massachusetts avenue," under penalty of seizure. They might traverse the land north of that avenue at their pleasure. Practically, one section of Washington was on the same footing as another, since the domestic animals, in spite of all law, had the freedom of the entire city up to a late date. But what a mortification to the street which now boasts residences upon which fortunes have been lavished that it was once set apart, impliedly, as the boundary of the city's goose and hog-pen. Charles Dickens, in "American Notes," gives us his impressions of neglected Washington in 1842. He playfully refers to it as "the headquarters of tobacco-tinctured saliva," and adds: "It is sometimes called the City of Magnificent Distances; but it might, with greater propriety, be termed the City of Magnificent Intentions, for it is only on taking a bird's eye view of it from the top of the

Capitol that one can at all comprehend the vast designs of its projector, an aspiring Frenchman. Spacious avenues that begin in nothing and lead nowhere, streets, mile long, that only want houses, roads, and inhabitants; public buildings that need but a public to be complete, and ornaments of great thoroughfares which only need great thoroughfares to ornament, are its leading features. One might fancy the season over and most of the houses gone out of town with their masters. To the admirers of cities it is a Barmecide feast; a pleasant field for the imagination to rove in; a monument raised to a deceased project, with not even a legible inscription to record its departed greatness. Such as it is it is likely to remain. * * * It is very unhealthy. Few people would live in Washington, I take it, who were not obliged to reside there; and the tides of emigration and speculation, those rapid and regardless currents, are little likely to flow at any time toward such dull and sluggish water." The discouraging observations of the novelist are only an echo of those in which Americans permitted themselves to indulge. The capital's growth was watered by a perpetual shower of disparagement and prophecies of evil. Neither plants nor cities flourish under a hot-water treatment.

THE PROMISE OF BETTER DAYS.

Between 1840 and 1850 Congress showed a tendency to improve the condition of the District. The personal influence of Mayor W. W. Seaton, one of the editors of the *National Intelligencer*, is said to be entitled to a large part of the credit for this friendly disposition; and so unusual was the appropriation of any considerable sum for the benefit of the District that apprehensions were jocularly expressed of the bankruptcy of the United States Treasury if Seaton continued to be mayor. These outlays by Congress quieted to some extent the fear that the capital would be moved, and population increased with unusual rapidity. Since 1810, when the city's inhabitants numbered 8,208, the increase

had been at the insignificant rate of about 500 a year, or 5,000 for each 10 years. Thus the population in 1820 was 13,247; in 1830, 18,326, and in 1840, 23,364. In 1850 at the old rate it should have been about 28,000, but under the encouragement of congressional favor and free from the fear of a present removal of the seat of government, the city swelled its population to 40,000. The initial steps in the work of improving the public grounds were taken by A. J. Downing, the landscape gardener, in 1851–52, but death stopped his labors and no one filled his place.

In 1862, Anthony Trollope was in Washington. Like Tom Moore, Mrs. Trollope and Charles Dickens, who preceded him, he writes of the city in a dyspeptic spirit. Everything disagrees with him. "Washington," he says, "is but a ragged, unfinished collection of unbuilt, broad streets, as to the completion of which there can now, I imagine, be but little hope. Of all places that I know it is the most ungainly and the most unsatisfactory. I fear I must also say the most presumptuous in its pretensions."

HOT SHOT FOR MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE.

Trollope seems to have conceived an especial spite against Massachusetts avenue, now the fashionable residence street of the city, and the vigor of his assaults justifies the suspicion that he was sent on some wild-goose chase, and found the mud of that street particularly disagreeable. "Massachusetts avenue runs the whole length of the city, and is inserted on the maps as a full-blown street, about four miles in length. Go there, and you will find yourself not only out of town, away among the fields, but you will find yourself beyond the fields in an uncultivated, undrained wilderness. Tucking your trousers up to your knees you will wade through the bogs; you will lose yourself among rude hillocks; you will be out of the reach of humanity. * * * The place is very full during Congress, and very empty during the recess. By which I mean to be understood that those streets which are blessed with houses are full when

Congress meets. I do not think that Congress makes much difference to Massachusetts avenue. * * * A stranger finds himself in the position of being sent across the country knee-deep in mud, wading through snipe grounds, looking for civilization where none exists." He adds, in respect to the city: "Desirous of praising it in some degree, I can say that the design is grand. The thing done, however, falls so iufinitely short of the design that nothing but disappointment is felt. And I fear that there is no look-out into the future which can justify the hope that the design will be fulfilled. * * * They who belong to it turn up their noses at it. * * * Even in winter, when Congress is sitting, Washington is melancholy; but Washington in summer must surely be the saddest spot on earth." Looking upon the city simultaneously with Mr. Trollope one can reply only feebly to his strictures. Unprejudiced descriptions corroborate his account of the forlorn condition of Washington at that time. George Alfred Townsend, in a magazine article, says: "When the rebellion began the following was the appearance of the city: Not one street was paved for any great consecutive distance; there was not a street car in the city; the Capitol was without a dome and the new wings were filled with workmen. No fire department worthy of the name was to be seen, and a mere constabulary comprised the police, which had to call on the United States marines, as in 1857, when the latter fired upon a mob and killed and wounded a large number of people. The water supply was wholly afforded by pumps and springs. Gas had been in partial use for several years, but little else was lighted except Pennsylvania avenue and the public buildings. * * * Nearly one-half of the city was cut off from the rest by a ditch and called the Island, while an intervening strip of mall and park was patrolled by outlaws and outcasts, with only a bridge here and there for outlet. The riverside was a mass of earthern bluffs pierced by two streets, and scarcely attainable for mire and obstructions. Georgetown communicated with the Capitol by an omnibus

line, and there was no ferry to Alexandria to be remembered as such, except in the sensitive traditions of the oldest residents. * * * In short the city was relatively in embryo as much as when Moore, Weld, Janson, and Basil Hall described it early in the century."

WASHINGTON'S LEAP INTO PROSPERITY.

But Mr. Trollope's disgust at the Washington of the present was equalled only by his hopelessness in respect to its future; and as a prophet he proves a complete failure. From the time when the capital was a camp and hospital, its streets filled with soldiers and resounding with martial music, its churches saddened by the moan of wounded and dying, its development as a city has been continuous. The greater part of this magical transformation has been wrought within the last eighteen years. In place of a straggling country village, with zig-zag grades, no sewerage, unimproved reservations, second-rate dwellings, streets of mud and mire, and wretched sidewalks, the modern Washington has arisen a political, scientific and literary center, with a population trebled since 1860; a city sustained, improved and adorned by an annual expenditure of more than four million dollars; with surface remodelled; with an elaborate and costly system of sewers and water mains; with about 150 miles of improved streets, nearly one-half of which are paved with concrete; with convenient transportation by 33 miles of street railway; with numerous churches and schools, as well as government buildings of architectural pretensions; with broad streets shaded for a distance of 280 miles by more than 60,000 trees, destined to make Washington a forest city; with attractive suburban drives; with reservations and parkings given a picturesque beauty by shrubbery and rich foliage, statuary, fountains and flowers, and with costly private dwellings, rivalling palaces in size and splendor of interior adornment springing up in rapid succession where Trollope sank knee-deep in mud. This wonderful change for the better, effected by certain wise and energetic

agents of the general government whom the District delights to honor, is the result, in part, of a reversal of the conditions which hampered the city's growth. Congress, no longer hostile, or indifferent concerning the pecuniary needs of the District, has spent large sums not only upon public buildings, but also in the improvement of the city, at first spasmodically, since 1878 systematically. The people of the District, encouraged by the general abandonment of the idea of a removal of the seat of government, have also made extensive outlays. But the main public expense of the work of recreating the city is represented by a present debt of more than $20,000,000, nearly all of which has been incurred by officials placed over the affairs of the District by the general government in carrying out those "magnificent intentions" concerning the capital, which, by the original plan, the nation and not the District was to execute. If, by any reasoning, the citizens of Washington can be held legally or morally responsible for this debt, it must be said, as was remarked by Senator Southard in the similar case of 1835, that they have been "misled into expenditures which do not properly belong to them."

Some of Washington's Grievances.

COMPLAINTS, NEEDS AND HOPES OF THE PRESENT.

A Little Bill For Back-Pay—The District's Antiquated Laws—Unfilled Marshes and Unfinished Water-Works—The Railroad Dictatorship—Suburban Development—Current Needs.

From the Washington Evening Star, March 3, 1888.

Washington's recital of past grievances must be modified somewhat to represent just complaints at the present time. Capital-movers no longer retard the city's growth. The nation's "bantling" no longer fears sudden death. Congress fulfills its obligations in respect to the improvement of the District with fidelity. An appropriation equal to one-half of the estimated District expenses is annually made, and considerable sums are frequently appropriated for special purposes which enure to the benefit of the capital. The ward of the nation is properly clothed and fed. There can be little complaint of injustice on the part of Congress in its treatment of the capital so far as outlays of the present are concerned. If the District has a grievance in this respect it consists in the fact that the same principle of dividing expenses which now prevails has not been applied to previous outlays, with the result of reimbursing the District for past expenditures beyond its proportion. It is difficult to see how, with justice and consistency, this reimbursement can be avoided by Congress. The General Government, by the fact of planning a magnificent capital, covering a large area and characterized by broad streets, avenues and reservations to an extent unsuitable for a self-supporting commercial city, and by founding this capital in a place comparatively uninhabited, as well as by the terms of the bargain with the owners of the soil, and by the declarations of its representa-

tives at the founding of the city and afterward, showed an intention to build up a national city, at the nation's expense, on a grand scale, irrespective of the future population of the District. The capital was to be primarily a center of federal action, and the occupation of the ground by settlers was merely incidental to this great purpose. It was to be a meeting-place for the use, convenience and entertainment of the people of the entire union, and the expense of its support and adornment was not to be limited by the scanty resources of what permanent population it might acquire. Probable favoritism toward this population was the ground of one of the arguments against the ratification of the clause of the Constitution, which provides for "the ten miles square." In the Virginia convention Patrick Henry said: "The people within that place may be excused from all the burdens imposed on the rest of society and may enjoy exclusive emoluments to the great injury of the rest of the people." And in the course of pamphlet discussion respecting the government of the District, protest was entered against Congress meeting *all* the needs of the capital, on the ground that the independence and self-respect of its citizens would be degraded. Congress seems for a long time to have obeyed this protest so far as to render no assistance whatever worthy the name in the work of capital-making. For more than thirty years, during which period $700,000, had been realized from the sale of lots pledged for the benefit of improvements, its expenditures upon streets and avenues, which were its exclusive property, were less than $700 per year, and its annual appropriations since that time until a recent period in the city's history, have been widely varying in amount, and at the best inadequate. In 1878 the Government, which had in the beginning impliedly undertaken to meet *all* the expenses of capital-making, and then shifted that burden in the main upon private citizens, decided that justice required it to pay one-half of the District's expenses. The payment of this proportion by the United States as the untaxed owner of one-half the city property, and as in-

terested to that extent in all improvements, had been urged by Senator Southard in 1835. He also advocated

THE REIMBURSEMENT TO THE DISTRICT

of whatever it had expended in the past beyond its just proportion. Congress has followed only one-half of Senator Southard's advice. If justice requires that the Government should pay a certain proportion of District expenses now, both justice and consistency demand that it should pay the same proportion of the expenses of the years of its indifference and neglect. It was shown in 1874 that up to date the citizens of Washington had expended upon the capital in excess of the amount appropriated by Congress about $13,500,000. A balance should be struck, and whatever sum is necessary to make the expenditures of the General Government upon the capital equal to those of its citizens, for the eighty-seven years of the city's life, should be credited to the District. This act of equity is the more necessary for the reason that the heavy debt, to which reference has been made, guaranteed by the government, but constituting in effect a mortgage of about 18 per cent. upon the assessed value of private taxable property in the District, weighs heavily upon the citizens of the capital. The indebtedness which bankrupted Washington in 1835 is now increased more than ten-fold. It will be in the distant future, if the time ever comes, when the city will be able to extinguish this debt, which meanwhile will rest as an incubus upon the prosperity of the capital.

Another grievance which is still felt by the District is the avoidance by Congress of general legislation respecting its affairs. It complains that while it needs as much legislation as many states, it is granted only a few hours or a few days of each session, to be largely wasted in debate without decision. Members of Congress reply when not too indifferent to attempt an answer, that great national affairs cannot be expected to give way to the petty municipal concerns of an insignificant patch of territory. They are also restrained

by a sense of their own unfitness for such legislation, coupled with the knowledge that injurious mistakes will subject them to hearty abuse by the citizens of the District, who, being without votes, have no other method of expressing their disapprobation. This shirking by Congress of a disagreeable duty has had an evil effect upon the laws of the capital. Complaint was early made upon this score. Mr. J. Elliot, in his "Historical Sketches of the Ten Miles Square," published in 1830, says that no essential changes had been made in the general laws, or in their administration since the cession of the District by Maryland and Virginia, and that the citizens were governed by laws as they existed thirty years previously, which had accumulated for generations, many of them barbarous, long since wisely abrogated by the states in which they prevailed, but still in force in the District. The author adds some specimens of these curious, antiquated laws.

THE ANTIQUATED LAWS OF THE MODERN CAPITAL.

Cause of complaint has not been removed since the date of Elliot's demand for reform. The District laws have been aptly compared to those of the Medes and Persians, which change not. The common law and the old British and Maryland statutes in force at the time of cession have not been sufficiently altered by Congress, and these very alterations have been sweepingly described by a prominent lawyer of Washington as "little dabs of law, little blistering or caustic acts, dropped at random on the raw body politic, unadjusted to any want, connected with nothing, remedying nothing, and often worse confusing what no mortal man could understand before." In many respects the laws are a hundred years behind the times. The occurrence in Washington of great trials, like the star-route cases and that of Guiteau, has called the attention of the country to the condition of District law, but no substantial improvement has resulted. At present the laws and ordinances are not even collected in a code. To learn even the municipal regula-

tions one must consult the acts of the corporations of Washington and Georgetown, deceased; the acts of the Levy Court of the County of Washington, deceased; certain acts of the Legislative Assembly, deceased; certain regulations of the Commissioners of the District given the force of law, and certain acts of Congress. These ordinances are often contradictory, clumsily drawn or incomplete, and need to be revised, as well as consolidated and codified. Several fruitless attempts have been made to obtain the necessary legislation by Congress. Successive revisers of the general laws have, since the time of Cranch, exposed in vain to the national legislature the defects, absurdities, and barbarities of the statutes. A code containing only existing laws cannot be passed, because members are unable to refrain from taking advantage of the endless invitations to improvement which are offered, and a revised code cannot, it seems, be passed, because members squabble to such an extent over proposed changes on important subject, that the limited time with which Congress favors the District is consumed without bringing the question to a decision. The House of Representatives has very recently doubled the number of days devoted to the affairs of the District of Columbia, and now agrees, if nothing of greater importance interferes, and quorums can be secured, and nobody at the time is possessed of the filibustering mania, to legislate for the capital on two afternoons of each month instead of one. This increase is exceedingly welcome to the people of Washington, and it is hoped that time may now be found to rid the District of some of the English statutes existing at the time of the first emigration to Maryland, which are our law merely because "found applicable to local and other circumstances" in that state and at that time. They are hardly adapted to the nineteenth century and the capital of the United States. The District should be given a comprehensive code or body of revised statutes, embodying a little of the modern spirit of legislation, both in respect to substantive law and procedure. There are always some faithful and able friends of Washington

in Congress, especially but not exclusively upon the District committees of the two houses, who labor diligently for the District's good, though sometimes discouraged by Congressional inertia and by the confusing and contradictory appeals of citizens. To these friends Washington appeals for relief from the clog upon its onward and upward march, which is caused by the mummy of ancient laws now tightly fastened upon it.

NEGLECT OF WASHINGTON'S HEALTH.

A grievance both of the past and of the present is found in the fact that the health of the capital has been neglected. The sanitary condition of the city has received insufficient attention from Congress at all times. It will not be necessary, however, to point out to the sympathetic reader earlier evils than those of 1888, and everything but mere reference may be omitted in respect to marshes long unfilled within the city limits, in respect to the ditch, festering in the sun and poisoning the air, which formerly existed under the name of the Washington Canal, in respect to imperfect sewerage and a dozen other sources of disease partially or entirely removed only after years of inaction. A grievance still existing, though the first steps toward its removal have been taken, may be cited, and that will be sufficient. The old Committee of One Hundred, a voluntary association of prominent citizens, whose representations to Congress gave the city its new government in 1878, say in their memorial to that body: "The marshes which skirt the entire front of our city are the growth of years of neglect of the commercial and sanitary interests of the nation's capital. The remedy is to be found only in a judicious plan of harbor improvements by which the health and commerce of the city will be alike promoted. Congress has lavished millions on the rivers and harbors of the country, in localities, too, whose claims to national consideration are insignificant as compared with Washington, while comparatively nothing has been done for the harbor of its capital, or for the navigation of a great river which has capacity to float its navy and to sustain a

vast marine commerce." The improvement suggested by this quotation is now in progress and over 500 acres have been partially reclaimed. Work has been delayed by questions, believed not to be serious, concerning title to a part of the land to be improved, and by a lack of necessary funds as the result of President Cleveland's pocket veto of the last river and harbor bill, which afflicted the just with the unjust. There should be no dilly-dallying or half-way measures in the reclamation of the Potomac bottoms. The land that has been partly reclaimed is in no condition to withstand a rise in the water, and there is constant danger that floods, freshets and ice-gorges may destroy all that has been accomplished. There has been, of course, an improvement in the city's health with the filling of marshy flats covered with coarse grasses, which, besmeared with the foul current from one of the city's large sewers, and exposed at low-tide to the heat of the sun, gave to each wind the seeds of disease and death. But a rank vegetation on the half-reclaimed land is still left to decay and to threaten the health of the capital. Congress should make prompt and adequate provision for the vigorous prosecution of the work. The proposed improvement will not only benefit the city's harbor and health, but it will add to the government reservations, fully reimbursing the expense of reclamation, several hundred acres of valuable land, which can be converted into an attractive park.

The healthfulness of Washington is a subject that has been much discussed, and the city from its earliest days has been put upon the defensive. At the time when the site of the capital was chosen it was charged and denied that the climate was destructive to Northern constitutions. Mr. Warden (1816), in the first elaborate description of the District, says that the prevailing opinion that Washington is unhealthy is based on prejudice. Mr. J. Elliott (1830), in the work to which reference has been made, says: "The prejudices against the general health of this District have been dissipated by the monthly publication of meteorologi-

cal observations, and the interments in the public grave-yards, authenticated by the board of health." But even the figures of the board of health do not seem to have banished the prejudice entirely, since Dickens, in 1842, pronounced the city "very unhealthy," and that opinion has been retained by many up to a recent time. The site would not seem, however, to have been originally objectionable. Henry Fleet, its first white visitor, who was captured in 1621 by the Indians living here, says: "This place, without all question, is the most pleasant and healthful place in all this country, and most convenient for habitation; the air temperate in summer and not violent in winter." The charge of unhealthfulness was, doubtless, first made by those who wished the seat of government to be located elsewhere than upon the Potomac. If any reliance can be placed upon statistics, the city's average health has been excellent, and the death-rate of the white population is now reduced to about the minimum reached in large cities, in spite of the suggested drawbacks; and such of these as now remain may be readily removed. Malarial diseases which have prevailed to a considerable extent will, it is thought, be almost entirely prevented by the reclamation of the flats. In the absence of its disease-breeding marshes, with its improved sewerage, with abundance of pure water to be secured from the comprehensive system of supply now approaching completion, with its broad, airy streets and its thousands of shade trees, and without the noxious odors of a manufacturing city, it should be one of the healthiest, as it is one of the handsomest cities in the world.

THE REGION OF THE RAILROADS.

An urgent grievance of the present, which grows more unbearable year after year with the attempts at growth of the sections of the city specially injured, is that which arises from the conduct of the railroads entering Washington. Their illegal occupation of streets and reservations, and the damage and disfigurement which they unnecessarily inflict,

are known to every reader of *The Star*, however recent the date of his subscription, and little additional comment is necessary. These evils have been exposed in vain for years to the Congress of the United States. The Senate District committee has recently decided to ignore them altogether. It is not at all concerned to discover that with surface tracks, in part illegal, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad disfigures, obstructs and endangers one whole section of the city, and the Baltimore and Potomac road another. It reads with indifference the long list of persons killed or wounded at the single piece of illegal track known as the Baltimore and Ohio "Y." It hears only with amusement that, in the long strip of land over which the Baltimore and Potomac road is permitted by grace of Congress to rule with absolute power, the people of South Washington find for most of the time an impassable obstruction to travel and traffic, and, if entrance may be secured, a dangerous man-trap. It knows perfectly well, too, that in no city of the world, except in that one whose interests are in part confided to its vigilant protection, would the present condition of affairs be endured for a day. Yet the regulation of the railroads is a matter to be postponed indefinitely. Almost simultaneously with this announcement to the railroads of an unlimited license to sponge upon public property, and to vex and injure the people of the city, comes the novel and startling statement from a hitherto valued champion of the District's rights in the Senate that Washingtonians, like the occupants of forts or arsenals to which the government has title, reside in the city and hold their property by sufferance, and may be evicted at any time at the pleasure of the government. A combination of these two propositions develops the pleasing doctrine that the descendants or assigns of those persons who gave in part and sold in part to the government the portion of the District which it owns, may be evicted by this donee or grantee from that part of the ground which was expressly retained, and which has been improved as private property; while great corporations to

which government property has been gratuitously loaned, and which, without permission, have appropriated other public property, and use all to the injury of the city and its people, may not be evicted or disturbed. The property owners are Oklahoma trespassers; the law-breaking railroads are not. Undoubtedly both branches of the doctrine are unsound in point of law, but waiving all questions of legality, the two announcements might naturally suggest to Congress the effective scheme, beautiful in its simplicity, of quieting complaints against the railroads, and settling the whole complicated problem, by evicting the restless and dissatisfied citizens, and turning over their property to the all-absorbing railroads.

When, if that contingency may be imagined, the sincere efforts of alleged champions of the public against corporations shall no longer be confined to a field of exercise in localities where the dear people to be tenderly guarded have the right to vote, and when the legislature of the District shall pay more regard to the interests intrusted to its guardianship than to the wishes of wealthy politician-making corporations, a wise and statesmanlike plan of regulating the steam railroads of the city will be devised and enforced, which shall clear away surface tracks, check the illegal acts of these squatters upon government property, free the public reservations, and relieve two sections of the city from a burden which throttles, like the old man of the sea upon the shoulders of Sindbad.

In connection with the broad plan of remedying railroad evils, which will place a union station at the nearest point to the business center of the city that can be reached by tunneling or with small injury to public and private interests, a comprehensive system of local rapid transit by electric or cable railways will be provided, which shall give all parts of the District quick and easy access to such station or stations. It is evident that in the improved street railways of the future horses must give way to more rapid and less objectionable motors, that grooved rails must take

the place of the present abominations, and that the franchises to these corporations, no longer gifts, must become a source of public revenue, outside of that which is derived from them through just taxation of their tangible property. The obstacle will be met here, as in New York, of an appearance of unjust discrimination, if greater burdens for the benefit of the public are placed upon new lines than upon those in existence with which the former will come into competition. But the difficulty may also be overcome here in the same manner in which it is proposed to overcome it in that city. The competition or threatened competition of new roads with improved motive power will inevitably drive existing companies to ask from Congress the privilege of using the new motors. Some, too, will wish to extend their lines, and some which have been making unauthorized use of certain streets of the city will ask that their occupation of such streets be legalized. When these applications are made to Congress, without the necessity of recourse to the severe and unjust remedy of a general forfeiture of charters, the opportunity will be conveniently afforded of applying to existing roads the restrictions and exactions which are now found to be wise and proper in granting new franchises.

Another function of the improved street railway system will be to render substantial assistance in furthering

WASHINGTON'S WONDERFUL SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT,

a striking feature of the capital's recent history. A city nearly equal in size to the original Washington has been planned outside the present boundaries. New roads and streets have been laid out. Handsome houses have gone up, and so have the prices of lots. Fortunes have been made in the purchase, subdivision and sale of suburban property. The care of this infant Washington is a need of the present. It should be supplied in equitable proportion to its population and taxable values with city improvements. In time Washington will doubtless stretch a symmetrical

plan of streets and avenues over the whole District. The sooner the lines to which suburban growth may adapt itself are authoritatively laid down the better it will be for the future city. The destruction of one house which interfered with L'Enfant's plan of the original capital caused a historic rumpus. What a clash may be expected if the planning of the annex to Washington, to conform as far as is practicable to the streets and avenues of the present city, is delayed until over the greater part of the District only the vexatious choice is given between a wholesale destruction of private improvements, made in good faith, and a departure, in respect to the size and direction of streets, from the general plan! The task of reconciling public and private interests in this matter has already ceased to be an easy one, and every year adds to the difficulties.

The development of this infant Washington is not of course to monopolize attention and revenue to the neglect of the present city. Large areas within the existing boundaries, especially in the sections afflicted by surface railroad tracks and numerous grade crossings, require improvement and denser settlement. Then there are to be supplied all the current needs of a growing city, involving, for instance, the steady increase of the police force and of the number of schools to keep pace with the multiplication of those who are to be protected and educated. The columns of the local press, the resolutions of citizens' associations, and the reports of the District Commissioners show that these needs are neither few nor insignificant.

Some of Washington's Grievances.

NO VOTES, YET NO GRIEVANCE?

Washington Needs no Elective Franchise in Municipal Affairs—No Repeal of "Exclusive Legislation" Clause—But Right to Vote for Representative, Senator, and President.

From the Washington Evening Star, March 10, 1888.

The idea of withdrawing from state power and the control of its residents a portion of territory to serve as the seat of government under the exclusive jurisdiction of the people of the whole Union, as represented by Congress, seems to have obtained a strong hold upon the minds of the founders of the Republic. Many desired to strengthen the notion of a Union by giving the general government an exclusive territory, a center of federal action, controlled by it alone. State jealousies had some influence in the matter. The jurisdiction of any one state over the seat of government would, it was thought, give that state, to some extent, control over the general government itself. Exclusive jurisdiction and the power to call out the militia would also, it was considered, enable Congress to protect itself in case of riot or other disturbance. The fact, now worn threadbare by constant allusion, was remembered, that Congress, while meeting at Philadelphia, October 21, 1783, had been insulted and forced to adjourn to Princeton. The opposition to the plan of giving Congress exclusive jurisdiction over the seat of government seems to have been feeble. No debate upon the clause is reported to have taken place in the Constitutional convention. Objection was made in the Virginia ratifying convention that the District might become an asylum for political criminals or violators of states' rights. But the clause was adopted without much

opposition. By its terms Congress was given the power of exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over this national territory. The legislature of the Union has an authority over the District incompatible with the exercise of the full elective franchise by its citizens. Without an amendment to the Constitution Washington can never vote for President or Senator or Representative. If there is a political grievance, the Constitution is responsible. The city's complaint against Congress is not that it has deprived residents of the right to vote, but that it has failed to take this disability sufficiently into consideration in its treatment of the city. If the United States had attempted to assume no particular control over the capital, and the seat of government as a city of Maryland had legislated for itself, and had improved and developed itself only in proportion to the means of its citizens, then the indifference of Congress and the frantic efforts of legislators to avoid a few hours' consideration of its affairs might have some ground of justification. But Washington protests against the application of a theory and practice which, in combination, have denied it the privileges while burdening it largely with the responsibilities of independence.

In the performance of its duties as guardian of the capital's welfare, four courses are open to Congress. First, it may leave the relations between the District and the general government unchanged, but give more time and consideration to the capital and its affairs, remodeling its laws in accordance with the wishes of its citizens and providing liberally for the improvement of its appearance, for its general development and for its relief from the heavy debt inequitably imposed upon it. Congressmen should look upon themselves as the representatives of a national district as well as of their own local districts. It should be remembered that the so-called congressional appropriations for the capital's ordinary expenses are not gifts or beggar's alms, but merely a disbursement of the District revenues, one-half coming from individual tax-paying citizens, the remainder

from the United States as the untaxed holder of one-half of all Washington property, and much should be done by the government beyond the contribution of this quota. If the capital is to be deprived of privileges which would belong to it as the city of its citizens, it should be made worthy of admiration as the city of the United States, representing in miniature its growth in population, wealth and power.

UNLIMITED ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN MUNICIPAL CONCERNS.

Secondly, Congress may give to the District local sovereignty and the elective franchise to the limited extent which the Constitution will permit. It has been urged by many that Congress has the ability to delegate its power of general legislation; that the exercise of exclusive authority does not forbid a choice of agencies; that the government provided for the District should be assimilated to the theory of republican institutions; and that the natural right of men to govern themselves should be recognized as far as that is possible. And to show that it was never intended by the framers of the Constitution to deprive any portion of the people of the United States of local representative government, the words of Madison in the 43d number of the *Federalist* are quoted. The other side of the question has been argued with equal ability, and the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia have adopted it. In Roach et al. *vs.* Van Riswick (Washington *Law Reporter*, November 10, 1879), it was decided that Congress has no capacity under the Constitution to delegate its delegated powers by bestowing general legislative authority upon the local government of the District, and an act of the so-called legislative assembly of the District, upon which the suit was brought, was declared inoperative and void. For the present, then, in the absence of an overruling decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, such a delegation of power is unconstitutional, and only the unsatisfactory privileges of a municipal corporation can be conferred. But experience has taught that if the decision in Roach against Van Riswick were reversed, and if

the most extensive powers of voting were bestowed which any reasonable construction of the Constitution can grant, the gift would be not merely valueless, but objectionable. The judiciary committee of the House of Representatives, in a report made June 1, 1874, stated the following truths: "In a strict legal sense there can be said to be no such thing as a local government of the District of Columbia, for there can be no government within the District independent of that of the federal government, and whatever local authority there may be now existing, or which may hereafter be set up within the District, it can only be regarded legally as an agency of the federal government, and whatever authority this local government may exercise, it must be regarded as the act of the United States through their delegated representative." The District legislature would in any event act under the restrictions suggested by these words. Its general laws would be mere petitions, void without the assent, express or implied, of Congress. A delegate without a vote has little weight in a "log-rolling" body like the House of Representatives. The other officers would be petty town officials, and a voice would still be denied the city in the choice of the executive and legislative officers of the nation. In short, the exercise of suffrage thus limited would be an expensive farce. Without representation suffrage is of no value; and, shut out from the bodies which make its laws and impose taxes upon it, representation of the District under the Constitution in its present shape can be only a sham.

It is extremely doubtful whether popular suffrage is desirable in the choice of those who are intrusted with purely municipal functions, even in cities where its adoption is not opposed by the peculiar objections which confront it in its application to the affairs of Washington. Experience and observation do not teach that a municipality which is reasonably well-governed will display wisdom by demanding a change of system in order to assimilate itself to ordinary American cities. The latter are notoriously

misgoverned. Incompetent and dishonest officials have been too often chosen in partisan contests, immense municipal debts have been contracted, and excessive taxation has been imposed. Statistics show that while state indebtedness has decreased between the last two censuses, municipal indebtedness has vastly increased, far more rapidly than population and valuation, and its amount in American municipalities is now estimated at a billion dollars. The deplorable financial condition of so many of our large cities is due, in the main, to unlimited popular suffrage, which has given to non-taxpaying, irresponsible voters

THE POWER TO EXPEND, EXTRAVAGANTLY AND CORRUPTLY,

the money supplied by tax-payers. It has placed the contributors and non-contributors to a fund upon an equal footing in the matter of deciding how and by whom the fund shall be disbursed. It has enabled the latter, under the guise of taxation, to make a division of the contributions of the former. It has legalized the virtual confiscation of accumulated wealth by aggregated paupers. Under its workings, robbers at the head of organized bands of destitute and desperate followers, have been permitted to seize, through mere force of numbers, the purse of more than one city, and to spend its contents at pleasure. The intolerable misgoverment of many American cities has not only caused the suggestion of such schemes of reform as the limitation of suffrage to tax-payers, and minority representation, but it has led even to the bold proposition that all power of self-government be withdrawn from these municipalities, and that the management of their affairs be intrusted to the state legislature—a plan which, if adopted, would place them in respect to their internal administration in a condition similar to that of Washington. In theory the powers exercised by the officers of cities are by delegation from the people of the whole state, in whom the ultimate sovereignty, as modified by the Constitution of the United States, resides. In New York, from 1777 to 1821, the officers of muncipal

corporations were appointed by the governor and four senators chosen every year by four subdivisions of the assembly. Instances of the intervention of the state government into the affairs of cities, amounting in some cases to indirect disfranchisement, have not been lacking in later years. There are serious objections, however, to the plan of granting exclusive control over cities to the state government, and it is not likely that the proposition can muster many advocates. But the mere fact that the suggestion has been made indicates that the evils which our municipalities endure are so great that the condition of Washington is viewed by some as preferable. The capital may well hesitate before it demands a privilege which its possessors are eager to resign, before it seeks to bind upon its own shoulders the burden of which other cities are making desperate efforts to relieve themselves, before it asks, as a boon, the main source of municipal woes. If the doctrine were generally accepted that universal suffrage is demanded by republican principles only in the choice of those officers who exercise purely governmental functions, and not in the selection of agents by municipal corporations to perform duties affecting private property interests, and if Congress might be depended upon to grant to the tax-payers of the District the financial administration of the capital, some of the objections against an elective system would be removed. But there is no probability of such action by Congress. The same spirit which would force republican forms of government to be observed in the District, though republican rights are not granted therewith, would deny a property qualification for voters. The municipal affairs of the city are now managed by a Commission appointed by the President, and compared with the manner and cost of the performance of similar duties in other cities the work is well and cheaply done. If this method of government should be abandoned, and the universal-suffrage system adopted, there is no reason to believe that Washington would escape the maladministration which prevails in other large cities. The conditions which cause

popular suffrage to be baneful in the latter exist to a considerable degree at the capital, and in one or two respects

WASHINGTON HAS ADDITIONAL DISADVANTAGES

with which to contend. The character of the voting population of the city, though it would not be a proper ground of objection if it were proposed to invest the residents of the District with the full rights of American citizenship, may be noted when the evils of suffrage are offered without its substantial benefits. About one-third of the inhabitants of Washington are colored, and this number includes thousands of the worst as well as the best specimens of the race. In addition to the permanent colored element an army of recruits would be attracted by elections to the city from the farms of Maryland and Virginia, to be used as voting material by political "bosses," and to be supported as loafers, partly by the wages of politics, partly by charity and partly by jail nourishment. The floating population of non-taxpayers will always be large at the capital, where office-seekers most do congregate, but with the accessions that elections bring the solid citizens would almost certainly be overwhelmed.

An objectionable result of the choice by general vote of minor officers only, with insignificant powers, is the small-bore politician developed by small-bore elections. In the states the politician may hope to rise, step by step, to the governorship of a wealthy, populous and powerful community, to a seat in the national legislature, or to the presidency. In Washington he must confine himself to petty affairs and limit himself by petty ambitions; and, naturally, few able and upright men would be tempted by the prospect.

The commission government, which a sham representative system would displace, has the advantage of bringing the United States and the national capital into those close relations which were anticipated in the plans of our forefathers. The members of the commission are appointed by

the President, to whom they report, and the nominations of two of them are approved by the Senate. The Treasurer of the United States is treasurer of the District. Congress alone is responsible for all general legislation. The true relations of Washington to the general government are thus suggested at every turn. If the city were permitted to elect local officers and pass local laws it would remove itself to that extent from national consideration, members of Congress would be permitted fewer opportunities of learning their full responsibilities in respect to the nation's ward, while the privilege gained would have no compensating advantage.

It is true that commission governments are not unobjectionable, but it is believed that the most serious of their evils may be avoided more readily than those of the alternative system. Among the possible dangers of such a government for Washington are two that are prominent: First, that the executive may appoint as commissioners, not bona fide citizens of the District, interested in its welfare alone, but his own favorites, on the score of personal friendship, or as a reward for political services. Secondly, that such commissioners, when appointed, will use the minor positions under their control as similar political rewards to aid the party or the political "boss" in whose interests they have been given office. If the city's government is ever debased into a mere political machine, a death blow will be given to the interests of the District. The capital is the ward, not of a party, but of a nation; it requires the friendly legislation of both parties; and to obtain such legislation its government must be non-partisan. The affairs of Washington are in certain respects confided to the President and commissioners appointed by him as trustees. If President or commissioner takes advantage of this position to benefit himself, or a clique, or a political party, and is not influenced solely by a consideration of the interests confided to his protection a sacred trust is betrayed.

Thirdly, Congress may propose an amendment to the Constitution

EXTINGUISHING ITS OWN POWER OF EXCLUSIVE LEGISLATION

and placing the residents of the District upon the same footing in regard to all elections as the citizens of the several states. The prosperity of Washington as the national capital would be endangered by the grant of local sovereignty to its citizens. Even if the nation might be induced to surrender the control of its property interests in the District entirely to the residents, which is hardly conceivable, it would not be willing to pay one-half of the expenses of the capital with no power of management in respect to its affairs, and with not even a voice in its government. But it is absolutely essential to the welfare of the city that its present financial relations to the United States shall be preserved. The manner of Washington's development renders it utterly unable to meet, unassisted, the expense of sustaining itself as a magnificent national capital. What was said in 1878, when the question was whether the government should pay a fixed proportion of District expenses, might be repeated if under any circumstances the attempt were made to withdraw the support then provided: "As in the beginning the federal city was without population or resources to which its founders could look for its development and improvement, so also at the present time it is wholly without the means either in property, commerce or manufactures, to meet the enormous outlays which the magnificence of the plan requires. One-half of its property, and the best half, is owned by the United States, and pays no taxes, and the other half is mortgaged for one-fourth of its value by a debt contracted in exhausting and paralyzing efforts to make it what its patriotic founders designed it to be—a national capital, worthy of the name it bears." If deprivation of suffrage is the only condition upon which citizens of the District are partially relieved from their heavy burdens, they evidently

prefer to remain "political slaves" rather than become bankrupt freemen.

The arguments, already recited, which led to the establishment of an exclusively national district must also be weighed when it is attempted to reverse the decision then made.

The sentiment which identifies the fate of the Union with that of the capital should not be disregarded. Washington has planted the roots of its existence and prosperity in the spirit of American nationality. It has flourished in proportion as this spirit has been strong. The grand designs respecting it were neglected by those, not its enemies, who resented the substantial embodiment of a power superior to that of the state. It again revived when civil war developed the patriotic national sentiment, and Americans learned that the Union is a substantial something to love, to live for, and to die for. The bloodshed of the Revolution gave birth to the spirit of nationality and created the city; the bloodshed of the civil war revived the spirit and regenerated the city. The imagination may conceive that the soul of the Union is enshrined in this exclusive territory, and that if ever its peculiar existence shall be extinguished the event will be a forerunner of the dissolution of the Union.

Fourthly, retaining exclusive jurisdiction, Congress may propose

A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT GIVING THE DISTRICT REPRESENTATION

in the bodies which legislate for it and tax it, a voice as to the President, who is to appoint the commissioners to manage its local affairs, and, in general, except as to the privilege of choosing town or county officers, to place the residents of the District upon the same footing as the citizens of the several states.

A minor discrimination against inhabitants of the capital which needs to be thus remedied is that which denies them the right of bringing suits in the federal courts in those

cases where the privilege is given to the citizens of a *state*, and which puts them before the national judiciary in a less favorable attitude than that of aliens. (Hepburn *vs.* Ellzey, 2 Cranch., 445.)

While the District is not a state, and while its citizens, in addition to the denial of the benefits of the federal courts, are forbidden representation, it is subject to direct federal taxation, although the Constitution says that "*representatives* and *direct taxes* shall be apportioned among the several *states* of the Union according to their respective numbers." These words are held to furnish merely a rule of apportionment, and not to limit the power of taxation. (Loughborough *vs.* Blake, 5 Wheaton, 317.) The District paid its proportion, some $50,000, of the twenty-million direct tax of August 6, 1861, the last of the four direct taxes. It has also paid into the national treasury from the commencement of the excise-tax law in 1862 $6,454,907.03, a larger amount than that derived from Alabama, Arkansas, Maine, Mississippi, Nevada, South Carolina or Vermont. "Taxation without representation" thus prevails at the capital. It is alleged, in justification, that the District (when nearly uninhabited) voluntarily resigned its right of distinct representation, and irrevocably adopted the whole body of Congress (including its bitter enemies and its lukewarm friends) as the representatives of its interests. Washington was in existence only a few months when its residents began to bemoan their prospective disfranchisement, their exclusion from participation in national elections. In a pamphlet concerning the "government of the territory of Columbia," published in 1801 by A. B. Woodward, it is said: "This body of people is as much entitled to the enjoyment of the rights of citizenship as any other part of the people of the United States. There can exist no necessity for their disfranchisement, no necessity for them to repose on the mere generosity of their countrymen to be protected from tyranny; to mere spontaneous attention for the regulation of their interests. They are entitled to a participation in the *general councils* on the principles of equity and

reciprocity." From the beginning of the century, too, members of Congress who have viewed the condition of the capital with other emotions than that of indifference have either "felt their hearts bleed" over the enslaved condition of the people, or have denounced the disfranchised as selling their republican birthright for a mess of pottage. In a debate in the House, December, 1800, Representative Smilie said: "Not a man in the District would be represented in the government, whereas every man who contributed to the support of a government ought to be represented in it; otherwise his natural rights were subverted and he was left not a citizen but a slave. It was a right which this country, when under subjection to Great Britain, thought worth making a resolute struggle for, and evinced a determination to perish rather than not enjoy." In 1803 the "unrepublican" condition of the District was again a matter of comment, and it was proposed to recede to Maryland and Virginia jurisdiction over the parts of the District originally ceded by them. John Randolph, Jr., in February of that year, said in the House: "I could wish, indeed, to see the people within this District restored to their rights. This species of government is an experiment how far freeman can be reconciled to live without rights; an experiment dangerous to the liberties of these states. But inasmuch as it had been already made, inasmuch as I was not accessory to it, and *as at some future time its deleterious effects may be arrested*, I am disposed to vote against the resolution." A proposition to recede the territory of Columbia outside of the limits of Washington, caused Representative Clark to say, in 1805, that he spoke of the inhabitants whenever he had occasion to allude to them with pity and compassion, and he most devoutly wished to see them placed in a condition more congenial to his own feelings, and the feelings of every true lover of civil and political freedom. Alexandria was retroceded in 1846, her "galling disfranchisement" being referred to in debate. Georgetown had sought retrocession in 1838, but unsuccessfully.

Many of those who favored the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress over the District on the same grounds that caused such a District to be established were yet

PREPARED TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION

when the proper time should come, in order to give the people of the capital a representation in Congress, the body which, in theory, constitutes their legislature. As early as December, 1800, Representative Dennis said : "If it should be necessary the constitution might be so altered as to give them a delegate to the general legislature when their numbers should become sufficient." A *territorial* delegate, which did not then exist, could not have been intended. The time suggested by Mr. Dennis seems to have now arrived. The difficulty of providing Congressional representation for an isolated collection of people, insufficiently numerous in themselves to be entitled to a representative, is no longer to be met. The population of the District is increasing with extraordinary rapidity. In 1880 it numbered 177,638, and in 1885, 203,459. The census of 1880 was the first enumeration which showed it to have acquired a population that would entitle it to ask admission as a state if it were upon the footing of an ordinary territory. The number of persons to be represented by each member of the House of Representatives is, according to the last apportionment, about 152,000. The House committee on territories reports in favor of granting representation to Montana, which, it thinks, will have 170,000 population next November; to Washington territory, which is expected to contain 160,000 people at that time, and to New Mexico, which had 134,131 persons in 1885. One representative in the House and one, at least, in the Senate, should be granted the District. This arrangement is found to be equitable when the population and growth of the several states are considered. The District, by the showing of the census of 1880, already surpassed in point of numbers Nevada (62,265), Delaware (146,654), and Oregon (174,767); and the advantage over Delaware

and Nevada is likely to be retained. In addition to these three states, Colorado (194,649), Florida (267,351), Rhode Island (276,351), Vermont (332,286) and New Hampshire (346,984), had less than double the District's population, making the assignment of one Senator to the latter equitable.

In view of the comparative rate of increase and other considerations, the District is likely to be found in the future ahead of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Delaware, and, perhaps, Connecticut, of the original states, and Vermont and Nevada of the new states.

The adoption of the fourth plan by Congress would be a compromise between granting only local, qualified suffrage, which is highly objectionable to the District, and consenting to absolute self-government, which involves a surrender of national control over the capital, and to which the United States, as the owner of one-half the city, and the virtual payer of one-half its taxes, would never consent. The wisdom of this course is sustained by all the arguments which go to show that the constitutional power of "exclusive legislation" by Congress should not be hastily yielded, and also by those which maintain that taxation without representation and inequality of citizens before the law should not be allowed to exist. The District would be placed in certain respects on a level with the states. Taxed like them, it would have like them a voice in the disposition of the general taxes. It would not, however, stand upon precisely the same footing with them, for the states are subordinated to the general government only in certain defined particulars, whereas the District would be subordinate in all respects. This inferiority would be indicated, it has been suggested, by giving the District

ONE INSTEAD OF TWO SENATORS

and by a corresponding reduction in its electoral vote. Enjoying representation in Congress and participation in the choice of the President, who appoints its local officers, Washington would resemble in its municipal government a city

which, after voting for the governor and legislature of a state, is managed by a commission appointed by the former and approved by the latter. Under this fourth plan the suggestions made in respect to the duty of members of Congress as the exclusive legislators for the capital would still be applicable; the present financial arrangements between the District and the general government would be maintained; the expensive transportation of office-holding voters to the states from Maine to Florida and from New York to California would, after the abolition of the office-apportionment system, be avoided; the rights of residents of the District as American citizens would be recognized in a manner which would inflict the smallest possible injury upon the interests of the city as capital of the United States, and this spot of national territory with all its patriotic associations would be preserved to the Union.

If at the time of giving the District the substantial representation suggested it should also be decided that Congress can manage the minor concerns of the District more satisfactorily by modifying in details the present form of municipal government, such changes may then be conveniently made. But every alteration should be based upon a full recognition, first of the absolute necessity of a retention by the general government of such representation in and control of the management of city affairs as will enable it to protect its vast interests here; second, of the frightful warning from the experience of other large cities against recourse to unlimited popular suffrage as a factor in the decision of purely municipal and financial matters; and, third, of the vital importance to the District that its local government shall be non-partisan.

It is conceded that the best method by which Congress can regulate the capital as a city may vary somewhat in details, with altering circumstances, but there is no urgent, present necessity for a change in this respect. The more important question is, Shall not the people of the District,

who now largely exceed the number of persons represented by each member of the House, be

ADMITTED TO THE UNION

as citizens of a quasi-state, and be granted representation in the national legislature, and the privilege of voting for President? Without disputing for the present the proposition, proved absurd by experience, that they do not need, as citizens of the *District*, distinct representation in Congress as a local legislature because they are represented in that capacity by *all* Senators and Representatives, do they not, as citizens of the *United States*, assembled in sufficient numbers in a limited space and paying national taxes, require representation in the body which imposes and disburses these taxes?

The people of Washington do not wish an unlimited elective franchise in municipal concerns or a repeal of the "exclusive-legislation" clause, with a change of the financial relations between the city and the United States, and many of them, in view of the dangers to be faced in the discussion by Congress of changes of any description in the present government, will continue to favor the first or do-nothing policy on the part of Congress, which was unquestionably wisest as long as the fixed population of the District, not in government employ, was insufficient to entitle it to a representative in Congress, and which is still wisest so far as the municipal government is concerned. These citizens will doubtless for the reason suggested hesitate to ask the additional rights to be secured by this constitutional amendment. But while the asking and granting of these rights may be in various ways reasonably delayed, they can not be indefinitely postponed. Though representation in their national and local legislature, which alone makes laws for them and taxes them, and may send every man of them to war to be wounded or killed, be denied to the 225,000 District residents of the present, will the same denial be given to the half million of the near future, or to the prospective million toward which figure as a goal the District's population is pressing?

Some of Washington's Grievances.

THE GOOD TIME COMING

When These Grievances Shall Vanish—And Washington Shall Be Exalted—No Longer Neglected, Starved and Frightened —But Tenderly Fostered by its Proud Guardian.

From the Washington Evening Star, March 17, 1888.

As long as Washington is compelled to divert from the funds for its maintenance and development as the capital of the nation between one and two million dollars, paid each year in interest and to sinking fund, and the heavy debt thus indicated rests upon it, draining its resources, the growth of the city will be delayed, and the nation, retarded by its impecunious partner, will need to move slowly in the grand designs of capital making. But with the full adoption by Congress of the original and true idea of its duty toward the District in respect to the capital's financial concerns, and in the matter of general legislation for its benefit, and in a trustee's protection of all its interests, whether invaded by persons or corporations, the city will flourish in far greater measure than during even the last decade. Thus favored the Washington of a not remote future will be still more distinctively a city of magnificent distances than at present. Though limited only by the boundaries of the District, it will be compactly knit together by a uniform system of streets and avenues, and by cable or electric railways, which shall utilize additional bridges across intervening waterways, such as Eastern Branch and Rock Creek, and bring the most distant parts of the new capital in close proximity to the business center. Or, as an alternative to the bridging of Rock Creek in the city, that stream

may be diverted through a tunnel to hide its urban ugliness and to remove the cause of West Washington's isolation.

SURFACE IMPROVEMENT OF THE DEVELOPED CAPITAL.

The surface of the city will retain and develop present charms, and be freed from present defects. Overhead poles will go, and overhead wires will be buried. A comprehensive system of underground conduits will accommodate all pipes which need to be conducted below the surface, and will confine not only telegraph and telephone wires, but also an adequate supply of electric-light wires, for Washington's broad streets are to be brilliantly illuminated at night, and the city will not be entirely content even with the better and cheaper gas to be secured for it by Senator Spooner. The underground Washington, like the surface city, will be planned and constructed with wise forethought, so that continual and extensive excavation of the streets may be avoided. Warning will be taken from the experience of New York city, in respect to which Mayor Hewitt, in a recent message, said: "During the year 1887, 98 miles of gas mains were laid, 25.58 miles of trench opened for electrical sub-ways, 4,791 lineal feet of steam pipes laid, 3,790 feet of salt-water pipes laid, 17,973 excavations made for house connections, 15.42 miles of water pipe laid, 7.12 miles of sewer built and many miles of excavations made for repairs of water pipes and sewers, making a sum total so appalling as to furnish no analogy except in the results of a vast earthquake."

In this Washington of the future the periodical battle over appropriations for street improvements will lose much of its customary desperation, for Congress by liberal lump appropriations for the benefit of its exclusive property, the city streets, will have at least provided the seven millions needed for such improvements in the present city; and the "neglected sections" will, in great measure, cease from troubling, and the weary apportioners of appropriations for such purposes will, comparatively speaking, be at rest. The

city of asphalt pavements will be the paradise of bicyclists, carriage users and equestrians, and sidewalks fit to be trod, showing the same mercy to man that concrete pavements show to beasts, will replace the present mud-bespattering aggregations of loose bricks. The street-cleaning system will clean the streets.

Thousands of additional trees will contribute to the city's health and beauty. Attractive residences, with the same pleasing variety of architecture that distinguishes those which now adorn Washington, will ornament every eligible site in the expanded capital. New public buildings will delight the eye at every turn. They will not be so constructed as to display to all the world a penurious builder with a contempt for architectural attractiveness, and will not be planted upon the reservations to clog the city's lungs with brick and mortar, to disfigure the capital's grand design, and to torture the spirit of poor L'Enfant, already too much vexed. Among them will be a District government building and a local post-office. In prudent deference to the deep-rooted but contradictory convictions of the owners of eligible sites, the exact location of these buildings will not be here specified, but it may be stated that the local post-office will not then be housed with the Post-Office Department of the general government, to which it seems likely to be fastened in the near future.

Washington's beauty as

THE CITY OF PARKS

will ripen to perfection. There will be the same profusion of small, multiform reservations sprinkled over the enlarged city at the intersection of streets and avenues, displaying all the adornments that nature and the gardener's and sculptor's art can supply. Larger parks will not be wanting. In the southern part of the city the Mall, cleared of railroad tracks, and enlarged by the addition of several hundred acres of reclaimed flats, will make a magnificent park, and furnish a famous driveway by which the visitor, having

swiftly traversed historic Pennsylvania avenue from the President's House to the Capitol, may return to his starting point by way of the Botanical Gardens, Armory Lot, Smithsonian Grounds, Agricultural Grounds, Monument Lot and White House Grounds, winding through trees, flowers and well-kept turf, and passing buildings of great public interest, historic monuments and statues. To the other end of the city Rock Creek Park will furnish a breathing place, with its thousand acres of surface, its beautiful, winding stream, and its wild and diversified scenery.

In the future Washington the Potomac River will be utilized to its full capacity for the benefit of the trade, health, and pleasure of the city. The present impediment to easy access to the river front, the impassable barrier of a belt of surface railroad tracks, illegally occupied by standing cars, will be sent to join the obstacles of the past—a pestiferous canal, a criminal-infested Mall, and high bluffs which needed to be pierced. The local rapid transit system will bring the Potomac within easy reach. The good harbor to be secured when the flats are filled will meet the demands of the city's growing commerce. Without its malarious marshes, the quickened river will cut large slices from the District's death rate. The upper Potomac, with its narrow, rocky channel and rugged scenery, will delight the fisherman; just above the city the broadening stream, with the landings and houses of local boat clubs perched picturesquely upon the wooded banks, will allure in ever-increasing numbers the oarsmen and their friends, and on the lower Potomac the fifteen or twenty excursion steamers of the present will be vastly multiplied to furnish fresh air cheaply in the heat of summer and to bring joy to children and the poor, and despair to the doctors, druggists, and undertakers. Public floating baths will further contribute to the city's health. Handsome and substantial bridges—perhaps a memorial bridge connecting with a broad avenue leading to Mount Vernon—will furnish communication with Virginia, and the Long Bridge, that shabby, flood-threaten-

ing nuisance of the present, will be only a disagreeable reminiscence.

In that glittering future the local offices of the District will be bestowed upon District citizens in faithful fulfillment of the promises of party platforms. The people of the District will be no longer stunted citizens of the United States, but will enjoy representation in both houses of Congress as their legislature, and a voice in the selection of their executive, the President. The government clerks will not be vexed with deceptive examinations for promotion, intended to discharge rather than to promote, but with the victory of true civil service reform and the abolition of the apportionment system, which distributes offices, as bandits' plunder, among the states in proportion to their strength, the efficient clerks will be freed from the haunting terror of unreasonable dismissal, and will become a desirable and reasonably permanent element of the city's house-building and voting population.

LINES UPON WHICH THE CITY WILL EXPAND.

Washington will be the recognized and only meeting place of the American people in convention assembled. In 1887 it drew to itself gatherings like the International Medical Congress, the National Drill of the militia, and innumerable other conventions, including the representatives of such varied activities as the shippers of the country, the woman suffragists, the laundrymen, the carriage makers, the agricultural scientists, the postal clerks, the school superintendents, and the Evangelical Alliance. With so favorable a start in the desired direction what may not be expected in this respect from the future, which will bring to Washington increased attractions to tempt visitors and enlarged accommodations for the meetings of representative bodies.

The city will not be pre-eminent in wholesale trade, but long rows of handsome business blocks, in the line of present development, will fully supply all local needs. Nor will the great manufacturing centers of the country find in

Washington a dangerous competitor. According to the census of 1880, Washington was then among the twenty leading cities of the United States in manufactures, with 971 establishments, and products for the year valued at $11,882,316; and it has an excellent water power at Georgetown, and cheap and easy access to the coal fields. But the capital will never lead in the handling of iron, pork, wheat or cotton. Modelling after Paris rather than Pittsburg, it will doubtless develop the various branches of light and clean manufacturing, which, with the departmental workshops, will give employment to many and make profitable returns, without interfering by noises or smells, with the capital's attractions as a residence city. In the latter capacity, Washington will distance every competitor. To live at Washington, not to die at Paris, will become the American aspiration.

As an educational center the city will also be preeminent. George Washington believed in and favored the establishment of a national university at the capital, selected a site for it and added works to faith by contributing stock for its endowment, which afterward, however, unfortunately became worthless. The reasons he gave for the location of the university at this point apply at the present time, and will prevail in the future with the result of giving the city a series of universities in place of the one which Washington proposed. It is in the nature of a special education to pass at the seat of government the years of greatest activity in acquiring knowledge. Nowhere else on the continent will the student of science or of law find in museums and libraries such treasures for his enjoyment. With the institution upon which Mr. Corcoran lavished a million and a half dollars in his life, and $100,000 at his death, as a foundation, a thorough and admirable system of art instruction will be developed and become a notable feature of the educational facilities furnished by the capital. The vast national library, conveniently arranged and easy of access in the immense structure to be erected for its accommodation,

bringing to light the accumulated treasures of learning, now half hidden and inaccessible at the Capitol, will materially aid Washington to become, as it must become, the home not only of the nation's students but of its authors. With Parisian light manufactures and the factories of the government departments to give employment to thousands of people, and with the constant accession of residents to the capital as the political, educational, scientific, literary, and art center of the republic, and the leading residence and "show" city of the continent, Washington, catching step with the nation in its forward march, will increase its present extraordinary percentage of growth in population, and, leaving the quarter-million mark, will stride quickly to its primary goal of half a million.

Evidently the Washington of 1900, on its hundredth anniversary as the capital, enjoying during the last part of the century the tender regard of its guardian, the nation, will be viewed with pride and affection in Uncle Sam's household, and luxuriating in solicitous attention, much money and good laws, will forget as completely as it can the miseries of its early years, in which the members of the national family were disposed to pronounce it " a disappointment to its parents, a discredit to the fond opinions of its worthy god-fathers and god-mothers, and an eye-sore to all its relatives to the remotest degree of consanguinity."

At the Annual Banquet of the Board of Trade in 1891, Mr. Theodore W. Noyes responded to the toast, "The Centenary of Washington City," as follows:

As this double commemoration suggests, the American patent system and the District of Columbia narrowly escaped being twins. For several days, culminating to-night, we have eulogized the first of these approximate twins. We have ascribed the vast national advance of the century in large part to this birth of a century ago. We have ranked among the typical heroes of the age the wonder workers whom this infant, now grown to manhood, has fostered. We consider that no home at the capital, in marble or granite, can be too spacious or too handsome to be suitable for its accommodation. In short, we of Washington say to the inventors: We have praised your hundred-year-old infant and honored its birthday. There is reciprocity in these things. It is time that Columbia's baby was dandled and petted; and as one of the nurses of this infant to-night I propose that we give our baby a show.

THE DISTRICT A CENTURY AGO.

When the District corner-stone was laid, thriving Georgetown was its nucleus of settlement on one side of the river and Alexandria or Belle Haven on the other. The site of Washington itself, a plain, fringed by gradually sloping heights, was a series of pastures, marshes, patches of cultivated ground, and hills green with many trees. It was pleasing to the eye and well adapted to its destined purpose, but those sections now most desirable, both for business and residence purposes, were then the least attractive. The river front was the choicest portion of the city, if the opinions of the earliest purchasers are considered. Capitol Hill was a dense forest, scarcely touched by the woodman's axe. Pennsylvania avenue was a deep morass covered with alder bushes. Massachusetts avenue, in the now fashionable

northwest, was a bog, undrained in part, as late as 1862, in which year Anthony Trollope, the English novelist, waded along it knee-deep through snipe grounds. Upon this foundation the capital of to-day has been built—the modern Washington, the focus of national politics, the great gathering place of the people in conventions assembled, with its quarter of a million of population, rapidly increasing and spreading the capital over the whole of the present District; a city sustained, approved, and adorned by the annual expenditure of more than $5,000,000; with a clean and economical non-partisan municipal government, a marvel in this respect among great American cities; with surface remodeled; with more smooth streets than any other city in the world; with enterprising business houses, relieving Washington from dependence upon its great commercial neighbors; with manufactures, not imposing, but respectable, that caused Washington, according to the census of 1880, to rank among the twenty leading American cities; with manufacturing establishments that have more than doubled in number since 1880, notwithstanding the design has been to retain Washington's pre-eminence as a residence city by encouraging only light and clean manufacturing; with broad streets shaded for several hundred miles with nearly 70,000 trees, destined to make Washington the forest city; with attractive suburban drives, including those which traverse the recent grand acquisition of Rock Creek Park, with its winding stream and its wild and diversified scenery; with parks and reservations, given a picturesque beauty by shrubbery and abundance of foliage, statuary, fountains and flowers, and with costly dwellings, showing the most varied and pleasing architecture, springing up in rapid succession, where Trollope sunk knee-deep in mud.

IN TWENTY YEARS.

The greater part of this transformation has been accomplished within the last twenty years. The wretched condition of the capital for three-fourths of a century is attested by all descriptions. In connection with the gift to it of nearly

three-fourths of the soil of Washington, in order to sell lots carved from this gift, the nation promised that Washington should be the permanent seat of government, and pretended that this permanent capital would be improved at national expense without regard to the scanty population that would be at first attracted to it. Having secured this magnificent donation and pocketed the proceeds from the sale of lots the nation utterly failed to meet its promises. It frequently threatened to remove the capital, which meant, of course, the death of Washington. It practically abandoned the work of street improvement and capital-making to the scanty resident population. There was no wonder that the District grew slowly.

The nation has now returned half way to the original and appropriate idea of the federal city. This guardian, who for three-fourths of a century was unfaithful to his trust, now, without making the slightest restitution for the wrongs of the past, shares the expenses of the ward whom he equitably bound himself in the beginning to support—and some men call it charity! The people of the District are not subject to this or any other reproach upon their public spirit, so far as their relations to the nation are concerned. They have risked life and shed blood in every national war. They furnished the first volunteers, and supplied more troops in excess of their quota in the civil struggle than any state except one. They have paid their proportion of every national tax, direct and indirect. They have contributed in proportion to population far more than any other American community for national purposes. They gave to the nation five-sevenths of the soil of Washington—an acquisition pronounced by Jefferson "really noble." They thus supplied a fund from which most of the original public buildings were erected. Those that since then have been constructed at national expense are offset by attractive homes aggregating millions of dollars in value with which they have adorned the city and swelled its taxable property. Nearly all the work of street improvement and capital-making, which for

three-fourths of a century was done, was done by them. From 1790 to 1878, according to the report of a Secretary of the Treasury, they expended $14,000,000 more than the United States in this, the nation's task, in addition to $25,-000,000 spent on local government, schools, and for other municipal purposes. Under this burden they worked themselves into virtual bankruptcy in 1835, and so in recreating the city after 1870 the main expense of the achievement was represented by the grievous debt of some $20,000,000. In both cases they took upon themselves national burdens, and were led by public-spirited motives, as the Senate committee reported in 1835, into expenditures which did not properly belong to them.

They are none the less public-spirited, patriotic citizens because they owe no allegiance to a state. Their city has planted the roots of its existence and prosperity in the spirit of American nationality, and has flourished as that spirit has been strong. For themselves, they are Americans or they are nothing; the people of No Man's land; men without a country. It is well for the nation that their Americanism is intense in proportion to its concentration, for that which lies next to the heart of the republic must be flesh of its flesh, pulsating with its warmest, richest life blood, or it will be a canker, collecting alien poisonous matter and eating at the nation's vitals.

THE DISTRICT'S SECOND CENTURY.

In the District's second century it will keep step in every respect with the progress of the nation; it will be the republic in miniature. In every branch of municipal development, whether attractiveness, health, trade, commerce, convenience, or comfort is the aim, the city will be made a model. With the republic's intellectual growth there will be a corresponding increase in the capital's importance as the brain centre from which influences in every branch of learning, in science and art, in education, in literature and politics, flow to every corner of the nation. The fact will

also be fully recognized that trees and parks and streets, and structures of granite and marble, do not alone suffice to constitute the ideal capital. There must be men full of the national spirit and fit, from favoring conditions, to show forth the American character in the blaze of the capital to the inspection of the world.

And when all possible wonders have been wrought in the inanimate capital its people will be considered. They will be relieved from the burden of ancient laws, utterly unfit for a modern community, that cling about their necks and choke them like the old man of the sea on the shoulders of Sinbad. Injurious discriminations in all respects will be removed. The District has been pronounced a state under the treaty with France, a construction conferring privileges on aliens, but not a state under the Constitution, whose people can sue in the federal courts. The Supreme Court of the United States says in express terms that we stand in a more unfavorable attitude toward the national judiciary than aliens. The District is a state when direct taxes are to be collected, but not a state when representatives are apportioned, though the Constitution couples the two things.

In the District's second century, when its population numbers half a million or a million, it will be not merely a state when burdens are imposed, but sometimes, at least, without radical change in the municipal government, a state when privileges are bestowed. In the good time to come the Washingtonian as well as Washington will be exalted. Nativity at the capital of the proud republic of ancient times was a world-wide honor. To be a Roman was to be greater than a king. Birth at the capital of the modern republic, far greater than that which ruled from the Seven Hills, will be the just cause of a profounder pride than that which found expression in the words, "I am a Roman."

SAID A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

The orator at the laying of the District corner-stone one hundred years ago petitioned and prophesied: "From this

stone may a superstructure arise whose glory, whose magnificence, whose stability, unequalled hitherto, shall astonish the world."

Upon the threshold of the District's second century we can do no better than to repeat this prayer and prophecy, so suggestive of the bright anticipations concerning the federal District which prevailed at its creation. We sometimes hear lofty reflections concerning the narrow views of the founders of the republic. In respect to the capital we shall do well if we fulfill the hopes, prophecies and anticipations of the forefathers and not prove narrower than they. It was their idea that Washington should be a federal city, developed by the nation and subject to its control; but it was not their idea that it should be without people. Its grand framework indicates the expectation of a large population. Washington's imagination covered the fair fields and wooded hills of his namesake city with the homes of a numerous, busy and happy people, a people not to outward appearance aliens, politically, and less than aliens judicially, but clothed with all American rights not absolutely inconsistent with the fostering control by the nation of the national capital. He predicted that the city of the nation a century thence, if the country kept united, would be, "though not as large as London, yet of a magnitude inferior to few others in Europe."

One hundred years ago a great mind conceived the idea of a statue of perfect symmetry and beauty. This idea was impressed upon the snowy whiteness of the heart of a huge block of marble and the statue's outlines lay hid beneath the stone's rough and discolored surface. For a century at intervals men have worked with drill and blast, with pick and chisel, to reach the heart of this rocky mass and to expose to sunlight and the eyes of men the perfect statue. Stroke by stroke the statue is uncovered. Inch by inch it rises in dazzling and perfect loveliness from all that is coarse and rude and ugly in the stone and earth of its surroundings, as the goddess of beauty rose in days of old from the rough gray surface of the ocean. The century-old ideal of Wash-

ington is fast becoming real, tangible, visible. It is for us of the republic's second century to give the finishing touches to the work designed one hundred years ago. Let no blundering chisel mar the delicate outlines of the developing statue whose beauty, half concealed, half exposed, assures to America and the world a perfect embodiment of the ideal capital.

Welcome G. A. R.

From the Washington Evening *Star*, September 19, 1892.

Washington greets the Grand Army of the Republic!

This is not the first time that the capital has warmly welcomed the soldiers of the Union. When in those anxious April days of incipient war Pennsylvania for the east with partly armed militia, and Minnesota for the west with a company of regulars hastened to reinforce the District volunteers in defense of the nation's city, all of loyal Washington gave hearty and grateful greeting to friends in need. When only a day later the volunteers of the sixth Massachusetts regiment, thoroughly organized and well equipped, forced their way with bloodshed through riotous Baltimore and entered the city with the marks of conflict in behalf of the capital still upon them, that enthusiastic welcome was repeated and redoubled. And when after a week of suspense and mortal apprehension, the capital saw the seventh New York regiment with glittering bayonets and flying flags march up Pennsylvania avenue to the inspiring sound of martial music it saluted these fine soldiers as the forerunners and representatives of the nation already in arms in its defense. Anxiety was swept away in an instant by this conclusive manifestation of the people's inflexible mandate: "The Union and the Union's city must and shall be preserved!" And the cheering of thousands, wild with joy, gave inadequate expression to the heartfelt welcome with which Washington greeted this advance guard from the vast army of its volunteer defenders. The scene was repeated when in 1864, Early threatened feebly-defended Washington, and Gen. Wright with two divisions of the sixth corps hastened in the very nick of time from the Potomac through the city to the relief of the menaced fortifications in the northern suburbs. And when at the close of the war the

Army of the Potomac and Sherman's army of the west marched in grand review on successive days up Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, through their deeds the assured capital of a united republic, saluted these heroes with waving flags and patriotic songs and enthusiastic cheering, and covered with garlands of flowers many participants in the great procession.

Now the soldiers of the Union again tread in martial array the streets of the capital and again Washington greets them with a welcome feebly and inadequately expressed in decorations, in illuminations, in music, in varied and hearty hospitality—a welcome which contains within itself the aggregated warmth and enthusiasm and gratitude of all these greetings of the past. As it gladly hailed its soldier visitors in detachments during the war, so now it rejoices to receive them in the mass through their representatives of the Grand Army. Protector and protected after the lapse of nearly thirty years salute each other, and naturally the handshaking is hearty, the welcome a royal one.

It is not alone, however, a natural gratitude for services rendered at the time of the war which causes Washington to be keenly appreciative of its present visitors. The soldiers did more than defend and preserve the capital. For this very labor of protection aroused a national interest in and regard for the thing protected, that had been hitherto lacking. The capital was not only saved, but since the war and through the war's influence it has been fostered and developed and made in appearance a seat of government worthy of the nation.

What the people fought for and defended the people came to love, and from this affection grew the determination to permit the capital to remain no longer a national humiliation but to cause it to become instead a source of national pride. Washington greets the Grand Army with double gratitude as its physical preserver against armed forces, and as the representative of that patriotic national sentiment, revived and nourished by the war, upon which the pros-

perity and even the very existence of the capital largely depend.

The veterans in their turn have reason to revisit with lively emotions the capital which they defended and to respond feelingly to the city's greeting. Washington was the focal point of the struggle. In the chess game of civil war the capital was the Union king, often checked, but never checkmated, threatened again and again by the enemy's queen, the fine Army of Northern Virginia under Lee, disturbed by the demonstrations and achievements of the adversary's Presbyterian bishop, Stonewall Jackson, and most seriously menaced by the eccentric and rapid movements of the enemy's cavalry knight. The soldier takes in the capital the natural interest in that for which he has fought, upon which his anxious thoughts have centered. Here, too, are individual associations. Here thousands were converted from raw recruits into soldiers, and camp and drill ground are to be eagerly revisited. Here thousands lay wounded in the hospitals, and the sites of these structures are clothed for many with sad but abiding associations. Here is the spot in the Capitol building where one spread his blanket; here is all that remains of the old fort in which many days full of pleasant and thrilling memories were spent; here is the house which opened wide its hospitable doors to another when dejected, weary, foot-sore and rain-drenched he dragged himself through the streets of Washington after the Bull Run disaster, and here is the magnificent avenue up which he marched amid the cheering of the people with troops to beat off the enemy from threatened Washington, or with 150,000 comrades in the joy and pride of final victory in the grand review. Here in the War Department and the museums are trophies and relics of the war; here are monuments to a number of the old commanders, and here, full of mournful interest, are the buildings associated with the assassination of the martyred President, cemeteries containing thousands of the soldier dead and tombs of such leaders as Sheridan and Logan.

In revisiting the sites of the extensive and costly fortifications which were constructed about Washington the veteran will find that the influences of peace have almost entirely conquered the formidable armament of war. The rain and the wind have crumbled the threatening piles of earth, nature has thrown over the signs of man's preparation for mortal combat a mantle of grass and vines, shrubs and bushes, and, if the sword has not been beaten into the plowshare, at least the woodwork of grimly menacing forts has been converted into fire wood or the building material of negro shanties. Upon the very spot occupied some thirty years ago by cannon the unconscious picnicking party may lunch with merrymaking.

The city itself then resounded with the tread of marching regiments, the rumble of supply wagons and of ambulances bearing the wounded or coffins wrapped in flags, the shrill sound of the fife, the roll of the drum and the roar of cannon at the navy yard artillery camp and the arsenal. Its encircling hills were dotted with white tents and floating flags, its public buildings were hospitals, soldiers' quarters or army provision depots. Mounted sentries were seen at the corners of the streets with drawn sabers, barracks appeared everywhere and military huts and military tents were pitched in the dust or mud of the unbuilt area. From the city, as well as from the forts, bristling with cannon, that crowned every eminence, all notable signs of belligerency have disappeared.

As at the capital, which is the nation in miniature, peace has conquered war, and the indications of hatred and combat and fratricidal bloodshed have been obliterated, so from the reunited nation itself, from the minds and hearts of men, may all traces of the prejudices and passions of the war be soon effaced!

It is not in the disappearance of military features alone that the veteran will note a change in Washington. At the outbreak of the war East Washington was in the main a broad expanse of barren plain. South from the Capitol were

hovels and brick kiln excavations. South Washington in general was an island cut off from the main city by a festering canal and the mall, which was then the lurking place of criminals. In the northwest beyond 7th street and between M and Boundary streets there were swamps and commons and patches of meadow. Cows, swine, goats and geese had the freedom of the city. Anthony Trollope, who visited Washington in 1862, like Tom Moore, Mrs. Trollope and Charles Dickens, who preceded him, gives an unfriendly but not imaginative description of the city. "Washington," he says, "is but a ragged, unfinished collection of unbuilt, broad streets, as to the completion of which there can now, I imagine, be but little hope. Of all places that I know it is the most ungainly and the most unsatisfactory." Trollope seems to have conceived an especial spite against Massachusetts avenue, which is now one of the finest residence streets in the city, and the vigor of his assaults justifies the suspicion that he was sent on some wild goose chase and found the mud of that street particularly disagreeable. "Massachusetts avenue runs the whole length of the city and is inserted on the maps as a full-blown street about four miles in length. Go there and you will find yourself not only out of town, away among the fields, but you will find yourself beyond the fields in an uncultivated, undrained wilderness. Tucking your trousers up to your knees you will wade through the bogs; you will lose yourself among wide hillocks; you will be out of the reach of humanity. * * * A stranger finds himself in the position of being sent across the country knee deep in mud, wading through snipe grounds, looking for civilization where none exists."

In place of the straggling country village, with zig-zag grades, no sewerage, unimproved reservations, second-rate dwellings, streets of mud and mire and wretched sidewalks, which the Union soldier and Anthony Trollope saw when Washington was a camp and hospital, there is now spread before our soldier visitors the magnificent city of to-day.

The capital, more than trebling its population since

1860, has not only built up its ragged collection of unfinished streets, and the bogs and swamps and commons that dotted and surrounded them, but has spread settlement over the then encircling heights on the northwest and northeast and the duty and responsibility of planning and developing a new Washington, more extensive in area than the original city, which shall not be inharmonious and discreditable when compared with the work of the forefathers, is imposed upon the legislators of to-day. The streets of depthless mud and blinding dust are now in large measure concreted and fringed with thousands of shade trees. In the matter of smooth streets the capital is foremost among the cities of the world. Broad Pennsylvania avenue, with its rough cobblestones of the war times, has been converted through the skillful use of asphalt into the finest parade street that any capital can boast, the veteran treads concrete instead of cobblestones, and when the work of erecting public buildings along it in accordance with the original plan, already revived and initiated, shall be fully accomplished, and its surroundings thus acquire suitable dignity and impressiveness, this historic avenue will rival in all respects the famous streets of the capitals of the old world, whether the boulevards of Paris, Unter den Linden in Berlin, the Ring Strasse of Vienna or Andrassy street in Buda-Pesth. Massachusetts avenue, where Trollope floundered in the mud, displays to-day as a specimen residence street of the modern Washington buildings of the most varied and attractive architecture. Without a street car at the outbreak of the war the District now has over a hundred miles of street railway, which promise soon to furnish through the general adoption of the best forms of improved motor, a model local rapid transit system to the capital. Then pumps and springs supplied the city with water; now through the great aqueduct, largely built while the war was in progress, the waters of the upper Potomac are lavished upon Washington. The then unfinished public buildings have been completed, and, with additional structures which have been

erected, adorn the city. The stub which represented the Washington monument has become the towering, impressive shaft of to-day. Intellectual progress has been as marked as material development, and Washington no longer a mere political camp ground, is becoming the educational, literary and scientific center of the republic. The reservations and parking, then neglected and unkempt, the browsing place of the cow and the wallowing place of the hog, have been improved and adorned, and now in a number of them the statues of men who were then struggling to save the Union and the capital, at the head of other men who are present here to-day, stand out in marble or bronze in a picturesque setting of flowers and rich foilage. Each veteran, as he beholds the present capital, may take to himself a share of credit for the change. For, as already indicated, the protection rendered by the nation to its capital and the national spirit revived by the war have caused the wonderful transformation. The relation of the soldiers to this development, which gives to the welcome of the city an additional degree of grateful warmth, may also inspire the veterans with a stronger, deeper pride in the beautiful city, which in its rudimentary stages they protected and preserved, and which in its present shape they helped directly and indirectly to create.

From its pitiable plight of thirty years ago the capital has become an object of interest, pride, and affection to Americans of all sections of the republic. In the cosmopolitan population of the modern city northerners, southerners, and westerners are mingled. The latter, not so very long ago in the dependent condition of residents of national territory, struggling for greater national attention to their affairs, and for more thoughtful consideration of their needs and grievances by a legislative body in which they had no real representation, and sensitively resenting misconceptions, born of sectional ignorance, concerning their resources, spirit, and tendency, can sympathize with a community whose present politically resembles in some respects their

past, and they should be able to legislate with peculiar wisdom and consideration for this bit of national soil, doing to the capital as they would that the nation had done unto them in the times that are gone.

But the strongest hold of the capital upon north and west—upon patriotic Americans everywhere—arises from the fact that it embodies the national idea. Washington was brought into being as peculiarly and exclusively the home and abiding place of the nation as distinguished from the states. Instead of selecting as the capital an existing city of some state, the nation determined to create a capital, which should be largely owned and exclusively controlled by the republic itself. With this purpose in view it acquired by gift title to five-sevenths of the soil of the city that it created, and reserved to itself by the organic law the constitutional power of exclusive legislation in this capital. It planned a magnificent city upon unimproved lands, and sold lots upon the implied agreement that the capital should be permanent and that the grand design on paper of the nation's city would be made a reality by the nation. The capital was the crystallization of the national idea, it was the substantial embodiment of the abstract Union, the materialization of a power superior to that of the state. It owes no divided allegiance to a state, arousing jealousies in the other states. It is the city of the nation, the whole nation.

The south is not excluded by any means from bonds of sympathy with the capital. The passing of slavery removes the point of greatest sensitiveness that was touched by the existence of a national city and no abstract view concerning the relations of state and nation needs to interfere longer with pride in and affection for the capital of the south, as well as of the north, and east, and west. The city was founded by southerners and the dangers that menaced its infancy were warded off by them. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Clay, Crawford, Calhoun and Jackson are on the first page of the list of the capital's friends. The west and north have supplied their full quota of notable names to this list, especially

since the war. The great men from all sections who have delighted to enroll themselves among those who have labored hardest to make the capital worthy of the republic, rebuke and put to shame the notion which seems to have gained some prevalence in Congress that the brains of legislators are not broad enough to consider thoughtfully both capital and national affairs, and that it is statesman-like therefore to disdainfully ignore the capital. There is no act of the forefathers which gives more convincing evidence of wise forethought than the creation and general design of the national city. What they planned the men of to-day are to fully carry out. There is in addition the new Washington that has sprung up outside of the original boundaries, which needs its George Washington, its Jefferson, its L'Enfant. If without loss of dignity and to their lasting credit Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson could throw themselves, as they did, enthusiastically into the labor of securing for the capital bridges across the Potomac, there is no statesman of to-day so great that he will not acquire new laurels by the performance of a similar and much-needed task for the present city. There can be no more ennobling and patriotic labor than that which associates one's name with those of the illustrious forefathers in developing and adorning the city of the Union, the nation in miniature, fostering the national sentiment, realizing the national aspiration, gratifying the national pride.

What is done for the capital is done for the nation and for the promotion of national sentiment. All three advance together. The national value of the true capital as a unifying patriotic influence is not to be disregarded or underrated. When the southerners seceded they left Washington with regret and looked forward to the predicted early date when they would return to legislate under the southern flag. They have returned to the city which southerners founded, protected and loved, and they legislate under the southern flag—the flag of the Union—south, north, east and west. And many of them thank God to-day that it is so. They

are here not as captives in a strange city, but as prodigals returned to a home, the house of their forefathers, rich in associations both joyful and pathetic, standing upon land in which they have an interest, and governed exclusively by the Union, of which they are a part. In Washington every American is at home, whether the pine, the cypress or the cottonwood grew above him. Here is the altar of American patriotism, not to be approached under the scriptural injunction without reconciliation with our brother of the south, or north, or east, or west. At Washington all Americans come together on equal terms with a common interest. The west learns the east, the north the south and vice versa. All sections are bound more closely together. Prejudices are softened and gradually removed. National sentiment dominates, the American spirit is developed and patriotism is strengthened. In the national crucible sectional jealousies and hatred are removed and the pure gold of American patriotism remains.

George Washington foresaw this unifying, nationalizing function of the capital, and for that reason proposed to locate in it the national university which he projected. Here, he said, the susceptible youth of the land, in the atmosphere of the nation's city and viewing the workings of the general government, would be impressed with a love of our national institutions, counteracting both foreign influences and sectional sentiments. The university of which he dreamed was never born, but, carrying out his idea on a grander scale, the capital has itself become a national university, in which all Americans are students, for the promotion of liberal, enlarged and patriotic Americanism, teaching love of country and making of all of us better citizens.

Superstition and tradition have associated the fate of more than one of the great nations of the world with that of some material object.

> " While stands the Colosseum Rome shall stand,
> When falls the Colosseum, Rome shall fall."

The future of the empire built on physical force is in

fancy intertwined with the fate of the vast structure in which exhibitions of that force in the bloody contests of gladiators and the slaughter of martyrs were habitually displayed. It may be that our republic has its material symbol. The close relation between the nation's city and the patriotic national sentiment has been noted. Washington is not merely the republic's political heart, from which the influences flow that determine the destiny of the nation. It is also the soul of the Union as an entity, forbidding the idea that the republic has no higher life than that of a mere hodge-podge of states. At once the bond and token of union the nation's city and the spirit of American nationality are entertwined. The former flourishes as the latter is strong. It sickened when that influence controlled which negatived the national idea and viewed the state as supreme. It again revived when civil war developed the patriotic national sentiment and Americans learned that the Union is a substantial something to love, to live for and to die for. The bloodshed of the Revolution gave birth to the spirit of nationality and created the city ; the bloodshed of the civil war revived the spirit and regenerated the city. Sincere and enthusiastic love of country is what keeps alive the modern republic and gives it prosperity and glory. Both capital and nation have planted the roots of their existence in this patriotic sentiment. The Union and its peculiar residence and part property, hallowed by every association which can keep patriotism alive, rest upon the same supports. The imagination can readily conceive that the spirit of nationality, the soul of the Union, is enshrined in this exclusive territory, and that if ever its peculiar existence shall be extinguished the event will be a forerunner of the dissolution of the Union.

All through the doubtful stages of the civil struggle the sound of the busy workman's tools was heard in the Capitol building, cheering evidence of the national confidence in the result of the warfare, and the cannon from miles of forts announced the finishing touches to the magnificent dome

which poises and floats lightly in the air its white lines of curving, swelling beauty. As this mighty dome, crowned by Liberty, grew into marvelous loveliness amid the turmoil and din of war about it, so the patriotic sentiment developed in beauty and power from the cannon smoke and bloodshed of the civil struggle. While the nation's city and its Capitol with freedom-surmounted dome endure the republic will stand, for the patriotic sentiment, " the fine, strong spirit of nationality " endures also, the foundation of the existence of both.

Our symbol of national unity and perpetuity is not a ruin, telling of the decay of the rule of force and of the overthrow of the unquestioned supremacy of men of blood and iron, but a living, growing, developing city, typifying the vitality, continued prosperity and grand destiny of the republic which it shows forth in miniature and which it is destined forever to reflect. In exact accordance with the progress of the nation, Washington, where beats the pulse of the republic's heart blood, will develop. Inevitably, therefore, it will be, not in the corruption of ancient capitals, but in republican simplicity of morals, in every phase of intellectual advancement and in every outward material attraction the greatest among the great capitals of the world.

The soldiers of the Grand Army of the Republic are passing away. Year by year the number of those able to respond in the body at a muster fast decreases. Year by year Valhalla claims an increasing host. Soon the last veteran will be gathered to his companions in arms.

But while the republic itself endures the Grand Army of the Republic can not die. The distinguishing and abiding feature of the Grand Army is not the fact of war, of fratricidal bloodshed, but the enthusiastic, dominating love of country which drove thousands into unaccustomed war as by a common, irresistible impulse. This spirit is imperishable and will inspire the youth of a new grand army, proud of the deeds of their fathers and forefathers, to whatever may be accomplished for their country from love of country.

If war with a foreign aggressor calls Americans to defence of the republic sons and successors will take the places of the disappearing veterans and emulate in battle the patriotism, courage, and endurance of the soldiers whom we greet to-day. If no war threatens—which may God grant!—the grand army of peace will take the field, enlisting the youth of America in defence of the republic against the national perils of avarice and corruption, and calling upon them for the same patriotic bravery and persistence in well-doing that is displayed by the soldier against an armed foe.

The undying patriotic spirit of the Grand Army will live in the hearts and minds of all true Americans, hardening their muscles for war in a righteous cause and developing for peaceful times another Grand Army by which blows equally effective shall be delivered against evils that menace the republic, the creed of whose soldiers shall be that it is sweet and pleasant both to live and die for one's country.

To-day the Union's city and the Union's army clasp hands in the warm, fraternal greeting of kindred and sympathetic natures, issuing from a common source, both born of patriotic Americanism, both material manifestations of the spirit of American nationality.

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON BRIDGES

OF THE

WASHINGTON BOARD OF TRADE.

SUBMITTED AND UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE BOARD, FEB. 23, 1892.

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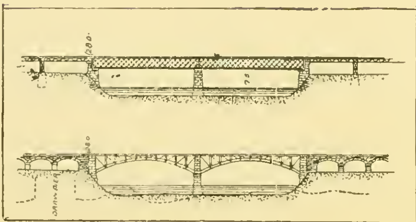
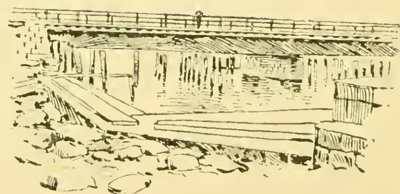
COL. HAINS' PROPOSED LONG BRIDGE.



PROPOSED OUTLET BRIDGE AND VIADUCT.



THE PRESENT PILE-OBSTRUCTED OUTLET.

THE EXISTING LONG BRIDGE MOUNTAINS.

Report of the Committee on Bridges.

On all sides except the north Washington is surrounded by water-ways which separate the city from its District suburbs, and from historic Arlington and the suburban settlements of the Virginia shore of the Potomac. The steady and marvelous growth of the city is causing settlement to overleap these intervening water-ways, to swell the population of the semi-rural annexes of Washington, and to give importance to the problem of supplying adequate bridges to bind closely the outlying to the main city. Rock Creek, Anacostia river, and the Potomac all demand attention, the claims of the last named for consideration being at this time most urgent.

THE LONG DAM MISNAMED LONG BRIDGE.

Every decayed plank, every foot of obstructive earth or stone in the long dam across the Potomac, misnamed Long Bridge, is a danger signal to the public, inviting all beholders to a crusade of destruction against it in the public interest.

The specific measure affecting the Long Bridge which has come before your Committee to be acted upon is Senate Bill No. 1142 and H. R. Bill No. 2770. This measure proposes to separate the public highway and the railroad tracks in the causeway portion of Long Bridge crossing the reclaimed flats, and to give to the railroad for its uses the present highway on condition that it construct another, fifty feet westward, at a cost not to exceed $25,000.

The law by which the Government in 1870 gave to the Baltimore & Potomac railroad the use of Long Bridge requires the railroad to maintain the bridge in good condition

for ordinary travel, and provides for forfeiture of the right to use if this requirement is disregarded.

The bridge is not now in good condition for ordinary travel. In the preamble of the bill under consideration, introduced as the proposition of the railroad, it is recited and admitted that through the increase of railway traffic over the tracks in close proximity to the highway "said bridge" is rendered "unsafe for ordinary travel." Nor can a shaky, rickety old structure which is prevented from sweeping down the river only by mountains of stone piled about its piers at the bottom of the river and obstructing the channel be pronounced in good repair for ordinary travel, even if the dangers from proximity of tracks be entirely disregarded.

A separation of the highway from the tracks in crossing the reclaimed flats and a radical reconstruction of Long Bridge are necessary not only to the public welfare but on the railroad's account, to prevent a forfeiture of its right to cross the Potomac by bridge at this point.

OBJECTIONS TO THE RAILROAD'S PENDING PROPOSITION.

The broad objections to the railroad's proposition in the present bill are: (1) It ignores the most serious evils in the condition of Long Bridge and fails to remedy the worst features of the particular evil which it undertakes to cure. (2) It fails to separate the grades of tracks and highway, leaving horses upon the latter to be frightened by trains upon an increased number of tracks in close proximity, and tends to strengthen the hold of the railroad upon the surface of the reclaimed flats, the park that is to be. (3) It fixes the cost limit upon the proposed improvement at only one-third of the amount which Col. Peter C. Hains reported would be necessary to construct a suitable new highway of the kind proposed. (4) It demands an exorbitant price, in the shape of the grant to it of the present highway, for imperfectly meeting a danger which it admits to be of its own creation, and

which, it says, renders unsafe for ordinary travel a structure which it is under legal obligation to maintain at its own expense in good condition for such ordinary travel.

LONG BRIDGE MUST GO.

The public verdict is that Long Bridge must go, and the community reasonably demands a comprehensive plan of removing the whole nuisance and obstruction of the present structure at a single legislative stroke.

The railroad's project of acquiring the Long Bridge causeway was presented to the last Congress, was referred to the Secretary of War for an opinion, and elicited a valuable report from Col. Peter C. Hains, then in charge of river front improvements, which so fully meets the idea of your Committee that it is made a part of this report and attached to it as an appendix.

It may be added that the conclusions of Col. Hains concerning the Long Bridge problem have also been heartily indorsed and recommended to Congress for adoption by the Commissioners of the District in a recent report upon the present bill forwarded to the Senate District Committee.

COMPREHENSIVE PLAN OF COL. HAINS.

Col. Hains opposed a piecemeal treatment of the problem. The causeway portion of the bridge cuts in two the 650 acres of new-made ground, which, at the expense of over $1,000,000, the Government has created out of pestilential marshes and which it proposes to convert into a magnificent park. Col. Hains considered it of supreme importance that the railroad be removed from the grade of this park, and that the tracks be carried over it on an elevated structure which would allow free communication beneath them. He proposed that the public highway, separated from the tracks, should cross the park on grade. The present low-lying structure, about ten

feet clear of high and thirteen feet clear of low tide, that dams the main channel of the river was to be replaced by a much higher bridge, with few piers, and so constructed as to offer the least obstruction to the rushing waters in times of freshet.

THE NUISANCE AND MENACE OF LONG BRIDGE.

It is time that the people of the capital insisted in no uncertain tones upon the abatement of the nuisance, the removal of the menace, of existing Long Bridge, and the substitution of a useful and ornamental structure in its place. Life and millions of property are periodically threatened by it. Great damage has resulted from it in the past. More serious losses are threatened in the future. Navigation is obstructed and harbor facilities injured by it. Georgetown and the whole river front with reason cry out against it.

With its solid causeway stretching for a long distance across the river; with the great pyramidal piles of stone about the piers that carry the bridge across the main channel, reducing, it is estimated, the available room for the passage of water by at least a third; with its low structure across the channel, which with its numerous piers standing obliquely to the flood current and stringers close to the surface stops the drift and ice in every freshet and solidifies into a formidable obstruction, the Long Bridge is a mighty dam blocking the Potomac and at every flood turning the water of the river upon the lower sections of Washington, including Pennsylvania avenue.

WHAT THE LATEST FLOOD DID.

Great losses were incurred by the city from this cause in 1877. Again in 1881, when the freshet itself was not so high, but an ice gorge formed at the bridge, resulting in the destruction of three of its spans and the deluging of Washington. The even more serious visitation of June, 1889, is still fresh

in recollection. The waters of the Potomac rose higher than ever known before by the oldest inhabitant, fully three feet above the 1877 flood-mark, clear to the stringers of the Long Bridge, and continued for hours to flow so high that nothing of any size floating on the river could pass under the bridge. The structure served, as usual, to collect the drift and debris from the surface of the swollen Potomac. The Analostan boat-house was swept from its foundations and carried down the torrent with all its contents, going finally to ruin against the bridge. Against it canal boats, barges, and mud-scows were also piled by the swift current. A schooner was torn from its anchorage in the Georgetown channel and its wreckage was heaped against the causeway and draw. A bridge about sixty feet long floated down the river in fairly good condition, until it came to grief against Long Bridge. Small articles of accumulated drift were numerous. The bridge itself, thus rudely assaulted and presenting every hour a greater surface of obstruction to the freshet, was in great danger. All night before the worst of the flood the bridge watchers paced restlessly up and down its north end, expecting every minute to see it give way. Directions were given to load the bridge with all the cars available and a long train of loaded freight cars backed on it. The old causeway was completely submerged and the fence which divided the driveway from the railroad tracks was swept away. A canal boat struck the draw on the Virginia side, completely disabling it. The rushing waters obstructed by the impromptu dam were driven in destructive cross currents over and against the reclaimed flats, doing much damage, and were turned in upon the lower levels of the centre of the city. Nearly all the business houses south of Pennsylvania avenue to the Mall and north of B street from the Capitol to 15th street were flooded. All the cellars were filled and nearly all the stores were partly under water, causing heavy losses. The Baltimore & Potomac station is described as presenting a novel sight. The water completely filled the waiting rooms. Boats floated through the entrances

of the depot. Persons living on Missouri avenue were unable to leave their homes except by means of boats, as the water there was very deep. The flood came before many of the residents had been provided with eatables for the day, and had it not been for outside assistance many of them would probably have gone hungry. All the streets leading south from the Avenue between the Botanical Gardens and the Treasury were canals. The basements and lower floors of houses were under water. The Market-house stood in the centre of a great lake. Rafts and boats appeared in numbers on the street.

WHAT THE NEXT FLOOD MAY DO.

Whenever one of the series of great freshets, which from time to time partly destroy the Long Bridge and flood the city, shall occur when the river is full of ice from the breaking up in the upper Potomac after heavy winter rains, an ice gorge will be formed at Long Bridge which will send a broad, deep stream through Washington by way of Pennsylvania avenue, inundating and damaging the city beyond expression and beyond conception, and will probably end by sweeping away Long Bridge altogether, destroying the railroad and highway communication with Virginia and severing the southern connections supplied by this structure. Unless no other less heroic method of causing Long Bridge to go is possible, the city would prefer to remove this public nuisance in some way that does not contemplate Washington's temporary conversion into a water city, half Venice, half Johnstown, threaten loss of life, and involve a damage to its business interests measured by millions.

FLATS IMPROVEMENT INCLUDES LONG BRIDGE RECONSTRUCTION.

The great project of Potomac harbor improvements contemplated that the reclamation of the flats should be accom-

panied at an early stage by a reconstruction of Long Bridge substantially in the manner now proposed, and the further protection of the new-made park, when completed, by a sea-wall. This noble work should be pushed to completion. The Government's expenditure of $1,000,000 on the improvement ought to be rendered effective by the comparatively small additional outlay required. Both the city of Washington and the harbor improvement, flood threatened, implore Congress for speedy action in the matter.

SEWERS WILL NEED ATTENTION.

When a sea-wall and a new Long Bridge remove the danger of a surface invasion of Potomac water, the entrance of the swollen river through the sewers, especially the sewer which replaces the old canal, must also be prevented. The low-lying section of the city must be raised or radical changes in the sewerage system devised and effected, or the sewers must be provided with the necessary valves and pumps or other appliances to prevent the distribution by back water of their filth upon the surface, rotting under the nostrils of the people and menacing public health.

COMMITTEE URGES COMPREHENSIVE, NOT PIECEMEAL, ACTION.

Reporting specifically upon the bill before it, your Committee disapproves it on the ground that it asks too much for the railroad and offers too little to the public in the particulars already specified; that it threatens railroad occupation of the surface of the new park, furnishing additional evidence of the mysterious affinity existing between railroad tracks and public parks in the city of Washington; that it is hostile to Col. Hains' admirable and comprehensive plan of solving the Long Bridge problem, and that it tends to postpone indefinitely the much-needed reconstruction of the Long Bridge. We therefore recommend the substitution for

this measure of a bill for rebuilding Long Bridge on the general lines laid down by Col. Hains, replacing it with a structure which shall neither threaten the city nor obstruct navigation to the harbor of Georgetown, and urge with all the emphasis possible the importance and necessity of immediate and energetic action by Congress in the direction indicated.

THE RAILROAD READY TO IMPROVE ITS TERMINALS.

It is stated on apparently good authority that the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad, in view of the opposition to its project concerning the Long Bridge which developed in the Senate District Committee, in the Commissioners of the District, and in the public press, has expressed a willingness to reconstruct the bridge substantially in the manner desired as part of a general improvement of its Washington terminal facilities, and that Senator McMillan, Chairman of the Senate District Committee, on the basis of the road's agreement with him, is framing a measure which will rebuild Long Bridge, remove grade-crossings in the city, and elevate or depress the tracks in crossing the Mall.

THE RAILROAD'S BILL AGAINST THE PUBLIC.

If this legislation is through Senator McMillan's skilful negotiations and management and the progressiveness of the railroad accomplished, the railroad will have, it is intimated, a bill against the United States and possibly the District on account of the construction of the public highway part of the new Long Bridge. But there are offsets to the railroad's bill against the public. This fact is fortunate for the fate of the proposed measure, for there could be no more serious impediment to the success of a bill at this session of the present Congress than the fact that it involved a large appropriation

from the District revenues, upon which the demands already so largely exceed the supply.

THE PUBLIC'S BILL AGAINST THE RAILROAD.

In balancing the accounts between the public and the railroad it is to be remembered that the latter secures from the former in connection with this legislation : (1) Release of claim for rental for the admittedly illegal use and occupation of streets and certain reservations for, lo! these many years. An act of the last Congress legalized the occupation and use of six small reservations which had for years been used without legal authority. The road has occupied and still occupies the large reservation at the intersection of Maryland and Virginia avenues, which Mr. A. G. Riddle, when attorney for for the District, reported to be held only by virtue of "squatter sovereignty." It has paid nothing for its long illegal use of the streets and reservations as storage depots and shifting yards. (2) Legalizing the alleged illegal tracks along Maryland avenue between 9th and 6th streets if a route along this avenue is agreed upon. (3) An increase of the number of its legal tracks and the space occupied by them on public property between Virginia avenue and the 6th-street station ; also along the whole route on both Maryland and Virginia avenues and across the reclaimed flats. This means the donation of a valuable strip of public property, a large addition to the railroad's land grant, representing a heavy expenditure if payment were exacted at the market price. (4) Most important of all, the removal of the grounds of public hostility founded on the present condition of Long Bridge, and the no-thoroughfare belt of surface tracks along Maryland and Virginia avenues and 6th street, and the conciliation of the public by the erection here, as virtually promised, of the finest station to be found on the Pennsylvania's whole system, will in effect cause the temporary grant of right of way from Virginia avenue to the free station site on the Mall to become

permanent. It will then be impossible to loosen the railroad's grip upon the park. The value of this benefit to the railroad is almost incalculable. Some time ago Senator Ingalls estimated the value of the Mall privileges, for which the railroad would have to pay elsewhere, as at least half a million dollars. They are worth more now. This estimate indicates only the pecuniary value of the acquisition, and allows nothing for the injury and practical destruction of the continuous park from the Capitol to the White House which our forefathers planned and which is necessary as an in-the-city breathing place for those who have neither the means nor the time for a suburban outing. If the city's magnificent original plan is to be permanently altered and disfigured for the railroad's benefit let the latter pay handsomely for this desecration, as well as for its land grants. If the æsthetic, sentimental, and sanitary considerations which plead for the uninterrupted Mall of L'Enfant's plan are to be buried beyond hope of resurrection, and the issue is reduced to the business-like question of dollars and cents, let the dollars and cents of compensation also be exacted on strictly business principles. If a part of the city's birthright is to be disposed of for a mess of pottage, let those who are responsible for the transfer at least see to it that the municipal stomach enjoys every particle of pottage justly due. The railroad's direct gain, when the temporary loan of its Mall privileges becomes a permanent gift, will be so vast that, without the aid of the other items enumerated, it will be sufficient to outweigh any claim against the District, however exaggerated, on account of the abolition of grade-crossings and the reconstruction of Long Bridge.

LONG BRIDGE PROBLEM VIEWED SEPARATELY.

If, however, the Long Bridge is treated separately from the local railroad question, the Government, which met the full cost of the structure of which it granted the use in 1870 to the railroad, can well afford, in protection of and as part of

the harbor improvement, to meet a part of the expense of reconstructing the bridge. Neighboring Virginia will be even more directly interested in the new structure as a bridge than Washington, which is more especially concerned about the removal of the dam, the prompt abatement of the dangerous nuisance of the present, than the acquirement of additional bridge facilities at this point. The gain of the capital city will, however, be great on one score and considerable on the other, and this fact will be readily admitted by it whatever turn the discussion concerning the provision of ways and means for the project may take.

ELEVATE RATHER THAN DEPRESS THE TRACKS.

Your Committee ventures to express the hope that the problem of bridges across railroad tracks will not arise in connection with the Baltimore & Potomac tracks leading to the Long Bridge. Last year the railroad opposed the depression and bridging of these tracks on the ground that this procedure would not bring the tracks to Long Bridge in proper relation to an elevated structure. If the railroad, adhering to its belief of last year, should favor the abolition of its grade-crossings by the building of an arched masonry viaduct of the Berlin type there would be no disturbance of the grade of streets or street-car lines, no damage to property owners from long, ugly approaches to high bridges at certain streets, and there would be convenient passage-way for the public under the elevated structure at numerous points.

MODERN BRIDGE BUILDING.

In the construction of the new Long Bridge, of the much-desired and much needed bridge to Arlington, of the required additional structures and reconstructed existing bridges across the Anacostia river and Rock Creek, and of any bridges across steam railroad tracks to avoid grade-crossings which

may be necessary, your Committee recommends the building of broad, substantial structures, as far as possible continual tions of the streets in grade, in width, and in surface. The bridge sign, "Walk your horses," is as unmistakable an indication of delayed municipal development and old fogy conditions as the appearance of a bridge toll-collector.

The modern bridge ought also to be so constructed as to afford rapid transit facilities without interfering with the comfort and safety of pedestrians and persons in private vehicles. Rapid transit connections perform a similar function to the bridges which they utilize in binding suburban settlements to the city and in enabling the latter to absorb and assimilate them.

When the District's needs in respect to bridges and rapid transit are fully met, Washington will not only extend a symmetrical plan of streets to the boundaries of the Maryland portion of the ten miles square, but will practically annex the Virginia retroceded fraction. Whether or not judicial annulment of the retrocession or a second cession shall legally restore to the District its original dimensions, Washington will, in fact, extend its boundaries across the Potomac and add Arlington to its system of parks.

In the future Washington, which the proposed legislation promises to aid in developing, the Potomac river will be utilized to its full capacity for the benefit of the trade, health, and pleasure of the city. The present impediment to easy access to the river front, the impassable barrier of a belt of surface railroad tracks, illegally occupied by standing cars, will be sent to join the obstacles of the past—a pestiferous canal, a criminal-infested Mall, and high bluffs which needed to be pierced. A local rapid-transit system will bring the Potomac within easy reach. The fine harbors from Georgetown to the Anacostia to be obtained when the flats are filled will meet the demands of the city's growing commerce. Without its malarious marshes the quickened river will cut large slices from the District's death-rate. Handsome and substantial

bridges, perhaps a memorial bridge to Arlington, with a broad avenue leading to Mount Vernon, will furnish communication with Virginia, and the Long Bridge, that shabby, flood-threatening nuisance of the present, will be only a disagreeable reminiscence.

THEODORE W. NOYES,
Chairman.

JOHN B. WIGHT.

FRANCIS R. FAVA, Jr.

FRANK HUME.

C. B. CHURCH.

JOHN G. SLATER.

APPENDIX.

REPORT ON SEPARATING WAGON ROAD FROM RAILROAD ON THE NORTH SIDE OF MAIN CHANNEL OF POTOMAC RIVER.

United States Engineer Office,
Washington, D. C., *April* 2, 1890.

General: By indorsement of March 10, 1890, office Chief of Engineers, the following resolution of the Senate of the United States was referred to me for report:

In the Senate of the United States,
March 7, 1890.

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be requested to investigate, in connection with the Potomac flats improvement, the desirability of separating the wagon road from the railroad on the north side of the main channel of the Potomac, and to furnish an estimate of the cost of the same.

Attest: ANSON G. McCOOK,
Secretary.

In obedience to your orders I have to report as follows: The main channel of the Potomac is that one between the outer margin of the Potomac flats improvement and the Virginia shore, and is commonly know as the Virginia channel. From the north side of said channel, as well as across it, to the south end of Maryland avenue, the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad tracks and the public wagon road are on the same bridge and necessarily close together. It is presumably to the separation of these on the north side of the channel that the resolution of the Senate of the United States refers.

Long Bridge was first built in 1809 by the Washington Bridge Company, and the act of Congress, February 5, 1808, which authorized its construction, authorized the collection of tolls. At that time there was no causeway between the Washington channel and the main or Virginia channel, as there is now. In 1831 the bridge was destroyed by a freshet. In 1834 an appropriation was made to rebuild it, and it was rebuilt. In 1840 it was again partially destroyed by a freshet and the sudden breaking up of ice. In 1843 it was repaired and again opened for travel. In 1870 the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad Company was authorized to take possession of, and extend its tracks across, the bridge (see act approved June 21, 1870), under the following conditions, to wit:

Provided, That the said Baltimore & Potomac Railroad Company will maintain in good condition the said bridge for railway and ordinary travel; and the bridge shall at all times be and remain a free bridge for public use for ordinary travel.

* * * * * * *

That if the said Baltimore & Potomac Railroad Company shall at any time neglect to keep said bridge in good repair and free for public use for

ordinary travel the Government of the United States may enter into possession of the said bridge; and Congress reserves the right to alter or amend this law.

The bridge remains to-day the property of the Baltimore & Potomac Railroad Company by virtue of that act of Congress. By the term bridge is meant the entire structure from the Washington shore to the Virginia shore, including the causeway across the flats. The total length of the bridge, inclusive of the causeway, is 4,677 feet. The railroad is a single-track road. The wagon road is close alongside of it the entire distance.

The bridge was badly damaged by the freshet of last June, and it has been necessary to support that part between the Fourteenth street abutment and the north end of the causeway by trestles.

At one place on the bridge there is barely width enough for a single wagon and a single train of cars to pass. In its present condition it is far from being a convenient structure, and the separation of the wagon road from the railroad, so that one would be entirely independent of the other, would be an improvement over the existing arrangement. Indeed, a wagon road and a railroad on one and the same bridge is always objectionable and is only tolerated from necessity. The portion of the bridge that spans the Washington channel is now in such a condition that the question of rebuilding it entirely, rather than repairing it, is one for serious consideration, from motives of economy.

It may be assumed that there will always exist a necessity for a bridge at or in close proximity to the existing bridge; that it will be needed for railroad and ordinary traffic: that the traffic of both kinds over it will increase from year to year.

Under the circumstances, and in view of its present condition and of the improvements now being made by the Government on the river front, it would seem that it is desirable to separate the wagon road from the railroad, provided their separation be made in accordance with some comprehensive plan of improvement that is ultimately aimed at for this particular locality, and in which the railroad company and the Government are both so vitally interested.

The first thing then to determine is, what should be the project aimed at? The Government has already expended over a million of dollars in improving the river front by filling up the marshes or flats and digging out channels for the accommodation of commerce. It has created an area of 650 acres of land above overflow by ordinary tides where formerly there existed acres of pestilential marshes. The land thus made, though not yet raised to the full height intended, already assumes a value estimated as in excess of its cost, and is susceptible of being made into one of the finest parks in the District. This land is cut in two by the causeway portion of the bridge, and, should the Government decide to utilize it as park, it is of supreme importance that the railroad tracks be carried over it on a grade that will allow free communication beneath them. To keep the ra lroad on the grade of the park would be decidedly objectionable.

Again, that part of Long Bridge that spans the main channel of the river is as now built a serious obstruction to the free flow of the river in time of freshets. The Board of Engineers that recommended the plan of improving the river front, now being carried out, called attention to the necessity of rebuilding that structure with wider spans at an early stage of the work. The freshet of June last emphasized it. Reports have frequently been made to Congress calling attention to the matter. Had the freshet of last June occurred when the river was full of ice a gorge would most probably have formed at the bridge and destroyed it. At the same time a much larger area of the city would have been inundated.

There is no possible way of preventing freshets. Moreover, they are most apt to occur when the ice in the upper Potomac breaks up after heavy rains.

Long Bridge has been at least partially destroyed several times already. When there is a freshet in the river ample room should be given to allow the water to flow off freely. If it be partially dammed up, as it now is, by the Long Bridge as constructed, the level will be raised and the chances of the water being thrown in on the city increased.

The reconstruction of Long Bridge over the main channel of the river forms an essential part of any project that looks to the permanent improvement of the river front, and is intimately connected with the question of separating the wagon road from the railroad on the north side of that channel.

In reply, therefore, to the inquiry of the Senate of the United States I would say that the separation of the wagon road from the railroad on the north side of the main channel of the Potomac would be desirable as a part of a project that looks to the raising of the grade of the railroad tracks across the flats high enough to give passage way for vehicles under them, and to the reconstruction of the bridge over the main channel of the river on wider spans, that will cause less obstruction to the flow of the water.

The project, stated in few words, would be somewhat as follows :

At or near the intersection of Maryland avenue and Thirteen-and-a-half street, where the grade of the street is 24 feet above mean low tide in the Potomac, carry the railroad tracks with a rising grade southward, over a viaduct of brick masonry, with arched openings, or on iron trestles (so as to allow communication under the tracks), to a point marked A on the accompanying tracing. From this point to B, a distance of about 180 feet, the head of the Washington channel to be spanned by two arched trusses or plate girders, which should rest on new abutments and one new pier, that would not materially obstruct the flow of water from the tidal reservoir into the Washington channel. From B the railroad to be carried on a brick arched viaduct, or on iron trestles, at such grade (about 28 feet above the plane of mean low tide) as would allow free communication under it to C. From C the grade of the rail oad to be 1 foot in 100 feet till it reaches, at D, the north abutment of a new bridge across the main channel of the river, or better still, the grade could be carried at 28 feet to said abutment. The wagon road, starting from the foot of Fourteenth street, to cross the upper

end of the Washington channel on a separate and distinct bridge from that which will carry the railroad, run nearly parallel to the latter, but some distance from it, till it reaches the new bridge across the main channel. This new bridge should be constructed on the west side of the existing bridge, arranged for a double track railway, and wagon road, to have eight spans of about 270 feet each, with a pivot-draw in the deep water of the channel. The depth of water between the piers to be deepened to about 10 feet on the shoal part of the river, to give ample sectional area for freshet discharge. As soon as the new bridge is constructed, the old one, with its piers and about 400 feet of the causeway at the south end, to be removed.

Such a project, if carried out, would enable uninterrupted communication to be maintained over the lands of the Government, whatever they be used for, and would enable a railroad and wagon crossing of the Potomac to be maintained at this locality with the least practicable obstruction to the flow of the water of the river.

The cost of the entire project is roughly estimated at about $1,250,000.

If, therefore, the wagon road be separated from the railroad on the north side of the main channel as a part of and in conformity to such a general project, or one of a similar nature, there can be no question but that it is desirable.

To build a new wagon road from the foot of Fourteenth street across the Government lands to the north end of the now existing bridge, across the main channel of the river, inclusive of a new bridge across the head of the Washington channel, would cost about $75,000.

I transmit herewith a blue-print of the map that accompanied my annual report for the year ending June 30, 1889, showing the progress of the work on the flats; also two tracings, viz: "A plan of Long Bridge showing how the wagon road and railroad can be separated on the north side of main channel of Potomac river," and "Profile of new bridge across the Potomac river, proposed as a substitute for the existing Long Bridge."

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

PETER C. HAINS,
Lieutenant-Colonel, Corps of Engineers.

Brigadier-General Thomas L. Casey,
Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army.

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LIBRARY

OF THE

WASHINGTON BOARD OF TRADE.

SUBMITTED AND UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE BOARD, MARCH 27, 1894.

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Report of the Committee on Public Library.

"Why is there not a majesty's library in every county town? There is a majesty's jail and gallows in every one." The reproach of Carlyle's question of more than half a century ago has been in large measure removed in England through the series of public libraries acts; and in New England also, and in many States of other sections of the Republic, majesty's libraries—libraries of the American majesty, the people—are far more numerous and conspicuous than the jails. The school and the library, twin agencies of education, lessen the need for the prison, and push it into the background.

THE FREE LIBRARY AN EDUCATING AND CIVILIZING AGENT.

To-day there is general recognition of the important educational position of the free circulating library and reading-room, accessible at hours when their treasures can be utilized by students, both from schools and colleges, and from among the working people, whose daylight hours are largely occupied in bread-winning. Especially are such libraries appreciated in this land of free schools. In State after State, responding to the popular demand for these educating and civilizing agencies, has legislation been enacted to supply each little municipal subdivision at the taxpayer's expense. So notable has been this movement that it has been reasonably predicted that the last quarter of the nineteenth century will go down in history as the age of electricity and free libraries. The progressive community needs the public library as it does the telegraph and telephone. It is on the same footing with the common school; it is the free university of the people. In the public school a liking for books, a desire and thirst for knowledge, may naturally be acquired. The library develops this liking and meets and gratifies this desire. The school imparts the ability to educate one's self by the intelligent use of books. The library supplements this instruction

by providing the means and opportunity for such self-education. As Commissioner W. T. Harris, of the Bureau of Education, has aptly stated: "The school teaches how to read—how to use the printed page to get out of it all that it contains. The library furnishes what to read; it opens the storehouse of all human learning. These two are complementary functions in the great work of education."

The library is, then, a true university, both for the graduates of the public schools and for the whole people, without regard to class, or sex, or age, or wealth, or previous condition of servitude to ignorance. The people eagerly avail themselves of the educational opportunities offered by the public library. It raises the whole community to a higher intellectual plane. It is also not without its beneficent influence as a moral agent. In some of the small New England towns the record shows that as many as one out of every five inhabitants, counting men, women, and children, is registered as a borrower of library books. More persons have there registered to read than have registered to vote. The statistics also show that, at first, fiction was most largely drawn upon by such readers, but that, as the taste for reading was developed, stronger food for the mind was demanded, and the ratio of serious reading steadily increased. The reading-room has proved and will prove a strong rival to all demoralizing resorts in claims upon the evenings of many, especially the young, and has served and will serve more and more as a satisfactory substitute for nightly idleness in dreary lodgings or on the streets.

WASHINGTON HAS NO FREE PEOPLE'S LIBRARY.

What Carlyle sought for each English county town, and what many English and American villages now enjoy, the National Capital lacks and seeks to obtain. It is fast becoming the Republic's educational centre. Universities are founded in rapid succession within its limits. But the great free library university, for those whom Lincoln lovingly called the common people, is yet to be created. According to the statistics there are much more than a million books in the semi-public libraries of Washington—about a twentieth of all in the Republic; and when these

have been apportioned among the citizens after the methods of statisticians it appears that the District workingman has fourteen times as many public books as the average American. And the only difficulty is that he cannot possibly make any use of them whatsoever.

The resident in the more elevated sections of Washington who could get no water on the upper floors of his house, and very little on any floor, saw countless gallons wasted in the Departments, in fountains and otherwise, and learned from statistics that he and the other citizens were, in per capita average of gallons daily used, among the largest consumers of water in the country. The population of the Capital, credited with fourteen times their due proportion of books, and without a single available lending library, with reading-rooms open at night, without even the command of books enjoyed by the working people of little Northern and Western towns, detect a similar mockery in the library statistics. No satisfactory substitute either for actual water or actual books is furnished by complimentary statistics.

WANT AMIDST PLENTY.

The departmental libraries at the Capital contain nearly three hundred thousand volumes, accessible only to a few employees of the Government, and closed to them early in the afternoon. The vast wealth of reading matter in the Congressional Library is practically out of reach of the workingmen and school children, owing to the hours of opening and closing and the conditions placed upon the enjoyment of its privileges. Not one of the great Government collections is open in the evening, when alone the great mass of the people can use the books. There are fifty-two libraries in the District, each containing over one thousand volumes, and not one of them is a free lending library, with a reading-room open at night for the benefit of the general public. Such an institution is the most urgent need of the National Capital. Viewing this ocean of more than a million books, spread tantalizingly before them, the workingmen, the school children, the Government clerks, the great mass of the citizens of Washington, thirsty for the knowledge which comes

from reading, may well exclaim with the Ancient Mariner: "Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink!"

A great national reference library for the world's scholars does not prevent in other capitals the existence of numerous popular libraries, and should not in Washington. "In London, where the British Museum, with its vast library of over two million volumes, is still sacred to scholars, there are thirty local libraries, in addition to many special libraries, open to various classes of students. In Paris, where the great national library is only open to readers well armed with credentials, there are sixty-four popular libraries, while Berlin has twenty-five."

THIRTY-THREE THOUSAND CHILDREN DEMAND A FREE LIBRARY.

To meet the absolute necessity of books as working adjuncts in the public schools, small libraries have been formed in connection with some of the buildings, and the High School has a very creditable collection. But to complete and perfect its educational system, already so admirable, by adding the people's free university to the free school, Washington absolutely needs the proposed public library, as an aid to the development of intelligent men and women, the good Americans of the future, the pillars of the Republic. Its creation is demanded in the name of the 63,000 children of school age in the District, and especially in the name of the 33,000 of this number who are over twelve years of age.

TWENTY THOUSAND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES DEMAND A FREE LIBRARY.

Investigation of the departmental libraries shows that a very large percentage of their three hundred thousand volumes is composed of technical books and books of reference, which have a direct bearing on the work of the Department which possesses them; that there are only between twenty thousand and thirty thousand volumes suitable for a general circulating library, and these are confined mainly to three Departments. The Interior Department, with 10,000 volumes, and the War and Treasury Departments, with 5,000 volumes each, possess nearly all these books. The clerks in the Departments which have no libraries need and demand them, and the favored Departments need a wider range

of reading material than the small collection at the disposal of each provides. There are, in round numbers, about twenty thousand persons residing in Washington who draw salaries from the Government. Many of these represent families, and the number of readers in this Government constituency can therefore be estimated only by the customary multiplication of the number of Government employees. In the name, also, of this numerous and book-loving element of the population the creation of the proposed local library is demanded.

TWENTY-THREE THOUSAND WORKINGMEN DEMAND A FREE LIBRARY.

Last, but not least, comes a powerful appeal from the District workingman. Sometimes, in view of the notable absence from the Capital of dirty, noisy factories, which would tend to reduce the city's attractiveness as a place of residence, the question is raised, "Is there any such individual as the District workingman?" The census of 1890 discloses the fact that, while it is the policy of the Capital to encourage only light and clean manufacturing, like that of Paris, over twenty-three thousand adults were engaged in the District in lines of work which are classed as manufactures, omitting from consideration entirely all the other numerous forms of labor. Nineteen thousand of these are engaged in purely local industries. Over four thousand are discovered to be in Government employ, mainly in the Government Printing Office and the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. It appears from this report that there were in 1890 in the District twenty-three hundred manufacturing establishments with a capital of $28,876,258, paying in wages $14,638,790, using materials costing $17,187,752, and with products of the value of $39,296,-259.

To the census figures must be added the thousands of workingmen engaged in other lines of work not classed as manufactures, and then this number must be multiplied, since many are the heads of families, to ascertain the number of readers, and, in behalf of this great multitude of people, a free lending library and night reading-room are now demanded.

ALL WASHINGTON APPEALS FOR A FREE LIBRARY.

While attention has been called to certain elements of the population as standing in special need of library facilities, it is to

be remembered that only a small fraction of all the people in Washington have the leisure to utilize and enjoy a public library during daylight hours, so that practically a whole city of 250,000 inhabitants makes this appeal.

HOW THE BOOKS MAY BE OBTAINED.

The first need of the free library—books—can easily be supplied. The librarian of Congress states that there are many thousands of duplicates in the Congressional Library suitable for the purposes of this circulating library, which can be spared for such use if Congress will consent, and he has formally approved the granting of such consent by Congress.

The existing departmental circulating libraries might be added to these books from the Library of Congress and made into a general departmental library, to which the people of the District not employed by the Government might also have access. The circulating books, numbering between twenty thousand and thirty thousand, accessible in the main only to the clerks in three of the Departments, and accessible to them only so far as the fraction contained in their own library is concerned, would, if collected in a general departmental library, be opened to all the clerks in all the Departments. A great body of Government employees would enjoy privileges of which they are now entirely deprived. Those now having a departmental circulating library at hand, instead of being limited to its five thousand or ten thousand volumes, would have access to more than twenty thousand in the general library, augmented by large additions from the Congressional Library and by private contributions, which, if the library were once started, would undoubtedly be considerable. The clerks in the particular buildings in which the circulating departmental libraries are now accommodated might suffer a trifling inconvenience from the removal of the books for a short distance, but catalogues of the library should be in all the Departments, and delivery branches established in different parts of the city. This inconvenience would thus be reduced to a minimum, and as an offset to it would be the finer library to which these clerks would have access and the public benefit of a great expansion of the number of readers to whom the accumulated books would be available. Other Departments and bureaus than

those which now have circulating libraries have applied in some instances and intend to apply in others for like privileges. The establishment of a general departmental library, open also to the public, would save the Government the expensive duplication of books in numerous small collections, and would also economize in the room space devoted to departmental library purposes. Apparently the Government and the clerks would profit by the project, as well as the population in general of the city.

When the nucleus of a library properly housed is once obtained, the collection will certainly grow rapidly through private donations of books and money, and when it has demonstrated its usefulness and the fact that it is appreciated by the public some one of Washington's wealthy men may be moved by local pride or other good motive to endow it and attach to it his name. No citizen could erect to himself a nobler memorial.

WHERE SHALL THE LIBRARY BE HOUSED?

It is evident that the books can readily be obtained; the difficulty is in securing a habitation for the library. A location in the new City Post-Office has been warmly urged. In Senate debate it has been stated that all the space in this building will be needed by the General Government: but, notwithstanding this announcement, the amount of available space in this vast structure will be so great, its location is so central, and there is such fitness in housing the library in a Government building which is primarily devoted, in name at least, to local uses, that your committee recommend that the first effort on the city's part be to obtain this location for its library.

If the library can be enabled with certainty to preserve its distinct existence while housed under the same roof with the great national library, contingencies might arise which would render a location in some unused portion of the new building for the Library of Congress extremely desirable. There will be abundant room in that structure for at least a quarter of a century. An extensive reading-room and every library facility will be available. The disadvantages of a location not sufficiently central may be overcome by the establishment of branches in different parts of the city, like those of the Boston public library.

Then the advantages of space in the proposed new municipal building, or in a structure to be donated by some public-spirited benefactor yet unknown, have been considered. Your committee have thought the wisest course to be to make every effort at first to obtain a location in a building already authorized or in course of erection, whose construction is assured. A municipal building, worthy of the city, when it is legislated into existence and actually erected, would be naturally the permanent home of a city library; but we must not wait for this event to occur, or for the wealthy benefactor aforesaid to appear or be discovered. Delays in securing the suggested nucleus of books are dangerous, and every month of the people's deprivation of needed library facilities is injurious. The free library of Washington should speedily come into being. It is, therefore, considered wise neither to commit the Board to an unchangeable opinion concerning the library site nor to suggest postponement of action by seeking quarters at this time in some prospective building, whose existence is as yet only in our hopes.

LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED.

Your committee ask authority to urge upon Congress legislation which shall create a library of the kind described as necessary in this report, with the suggested nucleus of books, and in that location which shall appear, after conference with the appropriate committees of Congress, to be most available. Your committee submit the draft of a bill as a suggestion of the general lines of the proposed legislation.

If only a small fraction of the books in Washington can be made accessible to the mass of its people, the city will be well supplied. It will no longer starve in an overflowing granary. The project of a public and departmental circulating library and reading-room, open in the evening, is worthy of the strongest and most enthusiastic labors in its behalf. It will doubtless receive the hearty support of the Board of Trade, of every public-spirited citizen, and of all friends of the Capital and its people, who appreciate the fact that a city of a quarter million of inhab-

itants contains men to be considered, and not merely streets, buildings, trees, statues, and monuments.

THEODORE W. NOYES,
Chairman.
JAMES T. DuBOIS.
DANIEL MURRAY.
JOHN G. AMES.
FREDERICK B. McGUIRE.
GEORGE E. EMMONS.
SIMON WOLF.

A BILL to establish a free public and departmental library and reading-room in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there be, and is hereby, established in the city of Washington a free public and departmental library and reading-room, being also a circulating or lending library, for the use of the citizens of the District of Columbia and of the employees of the several departments and offices of the Government in Washington. The general management of the library shall be committed to a board of trustees consisting of eleven citizens of the District of Columbia, to be appointed by the President of the United States.

Sec. 2. That said library shall be located in the new Post-Office building of Washington, D. C., and the architect of the same is hereby directed to provide in his plans and specifications rooms in said building suitable for and adapted to library and reading-room purposes, adequate to the accommodation of not less than seventy-five thousand volumes.

Sec. 3. That whenever provisions for the library are completed such books, periodicals, and papers in the existing libraries of the several executive departments and offices of the Government in the city of Washington as in the judgment of the head of the department, bureau, or office affected are not required for the special official use of said department, bureau, or office shall be transferred to the free public and departmental library and reading room, for its use, and it is hereby made the duty of the head of each department, bureau, or office in which a circulating library is maintained for the use of employees of the Government to deliver all such books, periodicals, and papers, without delay, to the free public and departmental library and reading-room, and thereafter no general circulating library but only such library as is required for its special official use shall be established or

maintained by any department, bureau, or office of the Government in the District of Columbia.

Sec. 4. That the Librarian of Congress is hereby authorized and directed to turn over to the free public and departmental library and reading-room such duplicate copies of books in his charge as are not required for the use of the Library of Congress.

Sec. 5. That upon the completion of rooms for the library herein provided for, the said board of trustees shall appoint one librarian and such assistant librarians and other employees as the said board may deem necessary.

Sec. 6. That all citizens of the District of Columbia, and all officers, clerks, and other employees of the Government on duty in the city of Washington shall be entitled to the privileges of the free public and departmental library and reading-room, free of all charge, including the use of the books contained therein as a lending or circulating library, under such rules and regulations as shall be prescribed by the board of trustees: *Provided*, That the library and reading-room shall be kept open from nine o'clock ante meridian to ten o'clock post meridian each day, excepting Sundays and holidays, on which days said library and reading-room shall be kept open from three o'clock post meridian to ten o'clock post meridian.

Sec. 7. That of the expenses incurred in the maintenance of the free public and departmental library and reading-room, including all salaries of employees, one-half shall be paid by the United States and one-half by the District of Columbia, and it is hereby made the duty of the Commissioners of the District to include these expenses in their annual estimates submitted to Congress.

LE JL '11